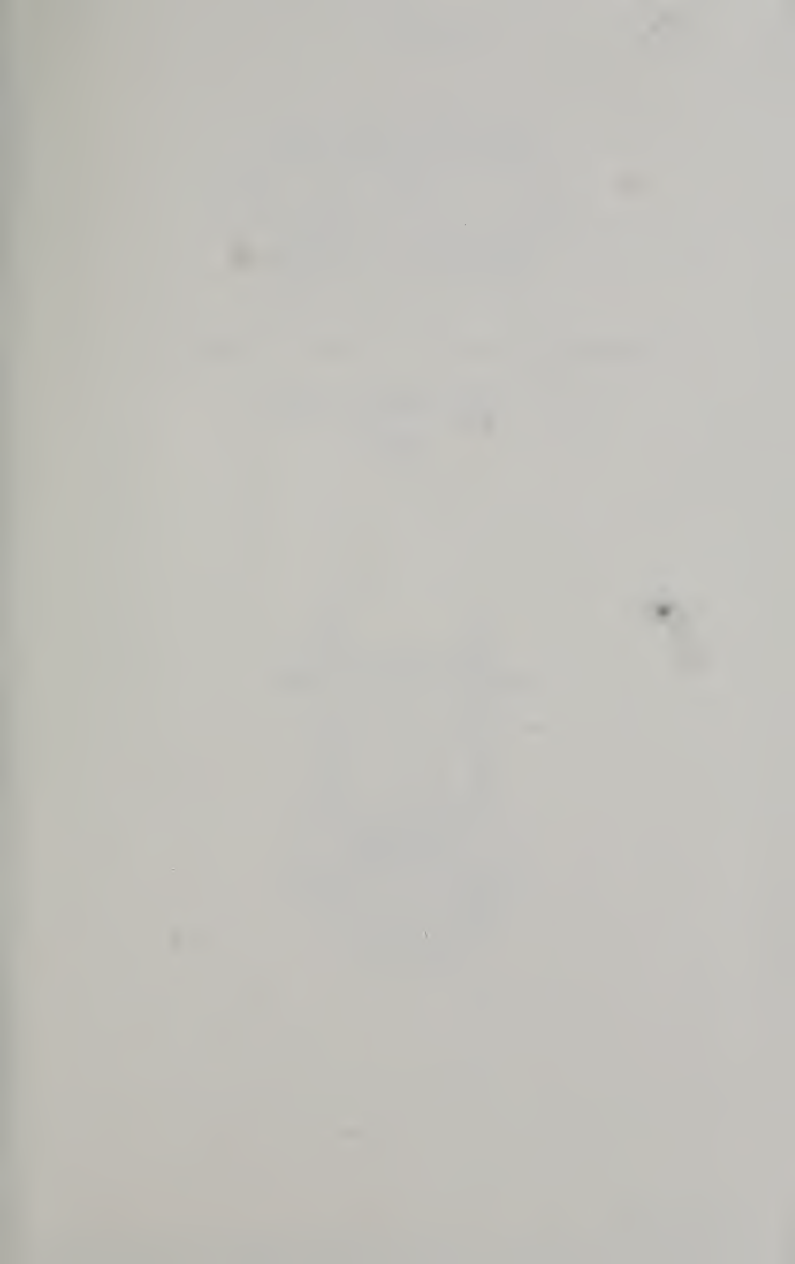




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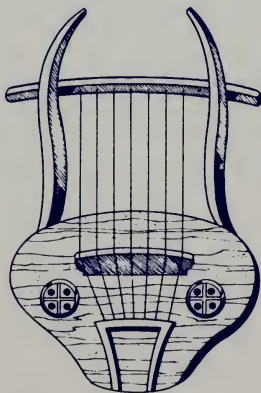
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“Predicates Can Be Topics”

GERALD M. BROWNE

In her recent book, *Word Order in Ancient Greek: A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus*, Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 5 (Amsterdam 1995), Helma Dik uses the resources of Functional Grammar to uncover the rules for ordering words in ancient Greek. Although she restricts herself to Herodotus, her remarks have validity for later Greek as well, as David Sansone has suggested in his review of her work in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 6 (1995) 690–91.

Dik (24) proceeds on the basis of the distinction in Functional Grammar between Topic (“the information [in a clause] that serves as a point of orientation”) and Focus (“the most salient piece of new information”). In more traditional terminology, the Topic is—roughly speaking—the logical subject, the Focus the logical predicate. Her basic schema for Greek word order is:

P1 PØ V X

P1 = Topic position; PØ = preverbal Focus position; V = position of the verb if neither Topic nor Focus; X = everything else (12).

One of Dik’s most convincing demonstrations appears in Chapter 7, entitled “Predicates Can Be Topics.” She begins by marshalling the Herodotean evidence to show that “Topic assignment to predicate constituents seems to be indicated especially when the predicate is a lexical repetition of the predicate in the previous clause” (207). In this case, the topicalized predicate appears in clause-initial position, in conformity with Dik’s schema: e.g. Herodotus 3. 1 πέμψας Καμβύσης ἐς Αἴγυπτον κήρυκα αἵτεε Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα, αἵτεε δὲ ἐκ βουλῆς ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου (210).

Classicists who know Coptic will hardly be surprised to read that predicates can be Topics. Shackled by a rigid word order, Coptic developed a particularly elegant way of topicalizing predicates: In order to shift the Focus from the verb, the verb itself is nominalized by being put into a so-called Second Tense. E.g. ἀρρησιν (Perfect I) ἦναι “he sat there” → ἦναι ἀρρησιν (Perfect II) ἦναι “that he sat is there” = “it is there that he sat.”

Hans Jakob Polotsky, who discovered the function of the Coptic Second Tenses, describes one of their characteristic environments in his *Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus* I, American Studies in Papyrology 27 (Decatur, GA 1987) 134:

... dasselbe Verbum [erscheint] in zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Sätzen ... , das erste Mal in einem Ersten Tempus, das den Verbalvorgang um seiner selbst willen als Kern der Satzaussage mitteilt, und das zweite Mal in einem Zweiten Tempus, worin der Verbalvorgang als geschehen vorausgesetzt und nur wiederaufgenommen wird, um einem neuen Prädikat [i.e. Focus] als Subjekt [i.e. Topic] zu dienen.

Polotsky's description harmonizes with what Dik noted, and John 21. 1, which he cites, displays word order comparable to that in Herodotus: μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφάνερώσεν ἑαυτὸν πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Τιβεριάδος· ἐφάνερώσεν δὲ οὕτως (ⲙⲙⲙⲥⲁ ⲙⲁⲓ ⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲁ [Perfect I] ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲓⲛⲥⲏ ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲓⲃⲉⲣⲓⲁⲥ· ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲁ [Perfect II] ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲛⲉ: "... and it was in this way that he revealed himself").

In Coptic, the position of the verb is fixed. Had he written ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲁ (Perfect I) ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲛⲉ ("and he revealed himself in this way"), the translator would have taken the verb as Focus. By putting it in the Second Tense, ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲁ, he captured the nuance achieved in Greek by placing ἐφάνερώσεν in clause-initial position; in other words, he interpreted it as Topic.¹

The Coptic therefore confirms the correctness of Dik's analysis, and it also gives support for the conclusion of her chapter, viz. that a topicalized predicate can begin a clause even when it is not a lexical reiteration of the predicate in a preceding clause (235). Here too Coptic avails itself of the Second Tense, as the following examples show:

Matthew 13. 24 ὁμοιώθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ σπείραντι καλὸν σπέρμα ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ (ⲉⲥⲧⲏⲧⲱⲩⲏ [Present II] ⲛⲉⲓ ⲧⲏⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲙⲛⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲁⲩⲭⲟ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲓⲣⲁⲓ ⲓⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲱⲩⲉ: "It is to a man who has sown a good seed in his field that the kingdom of the heavens is similar")

Psalms 77. 2 = Matthew 13. 35 ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου (ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲟⲩⲱⲩⲏ [Future II] ⲛⲣⲱⲓ ⲓⲉⲛ ⲓⲁⲛⲛⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ [Bohairic], ⲁⲛⲏⲉⲟⲩⲱⲩⲏ [id.] ⲉⲗⲱⲓ ⲓⲛ ⲓⲉⲛⲛⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ [Fayumic]: "It is in parables that I shall open my mouth")

¹ Cf. also the following passages for a similar use of the Second Tense: Luke 17. 20; Romans 6. 10; 2 Corinthians 11. 17; Galatians 2. 1–2.

Clement 12. 2 ἡκασιν κατασκοπεῦσαι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν (ἡλγει [Perfect II] ἀμογῶτ τυχωρα [Achmimic]: “It was to examine his [*sic*] land that they came”)

The first example, like that quoted above and those mentioned in note 1, is in Sahidic, the others—taken from Polotsky's *Études de syntaxe copte* (Cairo 1944) 42 and 45—are in other dialects, and I include them in order to show the pan-Coptic nature of the phenomenon.

In the past, close comparison of Greek and Coptic was of great help in elucidating the latter's structure; such a comparison was, for example, the starting point for Polotsky when he sought to unravel the mysteries of the Second Tenses.² The evidence presented in this article suggests that it is now time to turn the tables and to exploit Coptic in order to deepen our understanding of Greek.³

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² Polotsky, *Études* (cited above) 24.

³ For further demonstration of the utility of Coptic in the study of Greek, see my “Coptico-Graeca: The Sahidic Version of St Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*,” *GRBS* 12 (1971) 59–64 and “Chariton and Coptic,” *ICS* 10 (1985) 135–37 (with 303).

Manuscript Indications of Change of Speaker in Aristophanes' *Peace*

S. DOUGLAS OLSON

Aristophanes' *Peace* is preserved in ten manuscripts, the oldest and most complete of which are the tenth-century Ravennas 429 (R) and the eleventh-century Venetus Marcianus 474 (V).¹ A third manuscript, Venetus Marcianus 475 (G) is almost certainly a direct copy of V and can therefore be eliminated from consideration.² The seven remaining manuscripts of the play, along with the Aldine edition of 1498, appear to be descended from a single lost manuscript, hereafter β . As I will argue in detail elsewhere, β was copied on at least three occasions: (1) First, after it had lost a leaf containing lines 948–1011, to produce the manuscript (hereafter π) which served as the exemplar for Palatinus Vaticanus 474 (P; 15th c.), Copenhagen, Gamle Kongelig Samling 1980 (H; 15th c.), Parisinus Regius 2717 (C; 16th c.), and a lost manuscript (hereafter μ) known to Marcus Musurus and used by him to supplement his Triklinian text of *Peace*

¹ The readings reported in this article represent my own collations from microfilms of the manuscripts or, in the case of R and V, from the photographic reproductions produced by J. van Leeuwen (Leiden 1904) and J. W. White and T. W. Allen (London and Boston 1902), respectively. Thanks are due Martha Landis of the Special Collections Office in the University of Illinois Graduate Library for her generous assistance in obtaining microfilms of the manuscripts of *Peace*. I know the various papyri only from the reports of their editors. Much of the research for this article was completed during the 1994–95 and 1995–96 academic years, during which I held at different points a Junior Fellowship at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington D.C., a Fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study at the UIUC, and an Arnold O. Beckman Research Award.

For useful basic descriptions of R, V, P, C, H, L, Vv17, and the Aldine, see C. N. Eberline, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Ranae of Aristophanes*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 119 (Meisenheim am Glan 1980) 27–28, 41–42, 52–53, 37–38, 5–6, 21, 34, and 45–46, respectively. For L, see also N. G. Wilson, "The Triclinian Edition of Aristophanes," *CQ* 12 (1962) 32–47. For Vv17, see also S. Benardete, "Vat. Gr. 2181: An Unknown Aristophanes Manuscript," *HSCP* 66 (1962) 241–48. For Γ , see K. Zacher, "Die Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Suppl. 16 (Leipzig 1888) 549–54; A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides* (Urbana 1957) 335–37.

Thanks are due David Sansone for his thoughtful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

² Thus already Dindorf at vol. IV.1 p. iv of his 1835 Oxford edition, followed by K. Zacher, "Die schreibung der Aristophanesscholien im Cod. Ven. 474," *Philologus* 41 (1881) 15–16; Zacher (previous note) 545; and J. W. White, "The Manuscripts of Aristophanes. I," *CP* 1 (1906) 4.

(below) for the Aldine edition. (2) Second, after it had lost an additional leaf containing lines 1300 ff., to produce the manuscript (hereafter τ) known to Demetrios Triklinios, whose edition of the play is preserved in Holkham Greek 88 (L; 1400–30 C.E.), Vaticanus graecus 2181 (Vv17; 15th c., and eliminated from the discussion which follows as it is a direct copy of L),³ and (with the addition of further conjectures by another, anonymous editor) Parisinus Regius 2715 (B; 16th c.).⁴ Triklinios' edition was the basic source for the Aldine text of *Peace*; Musurus probably knew it through Selest. 347, which today includes only *Wealth* but must originally have contained all eight comedies edited by Triklinios.⁵ (3) Third, after it had lost ten additional leaves containing lines 1–377, 491–547, 838–92, and 1127–89, to produce the manuscript which served as the exemplar for Laurentianus, plut. 31.15 (Γ ; 14th c.).

All manuscripts of the play, along with the Aldine, indicate change of speaker in some way. These marks were most likely added gradually to the text over the course of the centuries and few if any can probably be traced back to the fifth century B.C.E., much less to Aristophanes himself.⁶ Since they provide useful information about manuscript affiliations and early editorial practices, however, they deserve attention and analysis. A complete catalogue of indications of change of speaker in the papyri and manuscripts of *Peace* as well as in the Aldine follows at the end of this article.

Four papyri of *Peace* have been published: P.Berol. 21 223 (6th c.; fragments of lines 141–52, 175, 178–87, 194–200);⁷ P.Vindob.G. 29354 (5th c.; fragments of lines 609–19, 655–67);⁸ PSI 720 (3rd c.; fragments of lines 721–47, 749–68, 776–802, 805–27); and P.Oxy. 1373 (5th c.; fragments from lines 1328–38).⁹ The papyri mark a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line by means of a dicolon at the end of the preceding line (198, 200, 619, 729, 1331, 1334) or, once, an

³ Thus also M. Sicherl, "Die Editio Princeps des Aristophanes," in R. Fuhlrott and B. Haller (eds.), *Das Buch und sein Haus I* (Wiesbaden 1979) 201 n. 64.

⁴ For Triklinios' edition of *Peace*, see K. von Holzinger, *Vorstudien zur Beurteilung der Erklärertätigkeit des Demetrios Triklinios zu den Komödien des Aristophanes*, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 217.4 (Vienna and Leipzig 1939) 96–115.

⁵ Sicherl (above, note 3) 189–231, esp. 206–8.

⁶ The most detailed discussion of the question remains J. C. B. Lowe, "The Manuscript Evidence for Changes of Speaker in Aristophanes," *BICS* 9 (1962) 27–42, esp. 35–37. K. Dover (ed.), *Aristophanes. Frogs* (Oxford 1993) 87–88, provides a useful overview of the problem.

⁷ H. Maehler, "Bruchstücke spätantiker Dramenhandschriften aus Hermupolis," *ArchPF* 30 (1984) 17–18.

⁸ A. Carlini (ed.), *Papiri letterari greci*, Biblioteca degli studi classici e orientali 13 (Pisa 1978) 135–39.

⁹ A fifth papyrus, P.Duk.inv. 643 (3rd c.; fragments of lines 474, 476, 507–20 with scholia), is to be published by Louise P. Smith, "Aristophanes' *Peace* with Scholia on a Duke Papyrus," *ArchPF* 42.2 (1996).

abbreviated name in the left margin (819). 1330 and 1331 are also separated by a paragraphos. Change of speaker within a line is indicated in the papyri by means of a dicolon after the last word belonging to the previous speaker (186, 824, 825, 826) or, twice, by means of an abbreviated name in superscript (185, 195).

R indicates a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line by means of a name (generally abbreviated) (155 x)¹⁰ or a paragraphos in the left margin (164 x); on rare occasions (e.g. 262, 689, 696, 697) R also places a dicolon at the end of the preceding line. Change of speaker within a line is indicated in R by a name or abbreviation thereof (7 x) or by a dicolon or a combination of a dicolon and a paragraphos (101 x). R marks a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line at five points in the text where no other manuscript of the play does¹¹ and marks a change of speaker within a line at three points where no other manuscript does.¹²

V indicates a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line in the same ways as R, but is less likely to use a name or abbreviated name (138 x) than a paragraphos in the left margin (241 x) and has a dicolon at the end of the preceding line far more frequently than R (e.g. 15, 105, 107, 109, 149). Change of speaker within a line is indicated in V by a dicolon or occasionally a combination of a dicolon and a paragraphos (105 x), or by an abbreviated name (11 x). V marks a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line at ten points in the text where no other manuscript of the play does¹³ and marks a change of speaker within a line at one point where no other manuscript does.¹⁴

Of the 285 points in the text of *Peace* where R and V agree in marking a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line, they use the same symbol (i.e. either a name or abbreviated name or a paragraphos; I ignore the presence or absence of a dicolon at the end of the previous line) 259 x. Of the 139 points in the text where one of the two manuscripts marks a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line but the other does not,¹⁵ moreover, the manuscript which marks the change does so with a name or abbreviated name only 10 x. Taken together, these two bits of evidence strongly suggest that R and V (or their exemplars) were attempting to reproduce an exemplar whose marginal indications of change

¹⁰ I exclude 242 and 252, where Πολ in the left margin is now incorporated into the scholia but may originally have been an indication of change of speaker.

¹¹ I.e. at the beginning of 173, 664, 690, 886, and 1102. I exclude 959, where the only other manuscript available is V.

¹² I.e. before τρόφι in 689, οὐ in 1095, and ἀπόφερ' in 1239.

¹³ I.e. at the beginning of 207, 221, 474, 497, 499, 513, 516, 517, 651, and 1046.

¹⁴ I.e. before ὦ in 193.

¹⁵ I exclude 242 and 252 (cf. above, note 10), as well as 187 and 402 (omitted in R). There are 14 points at which the only indication of a change of speaker in either text is a dicolon at the end of the previous line in V and these might perhaps be excluded as well.

of speaker varied between names or abbreviated names, on the one hand, and paragraphi, on the other, precisely as R and V do themselves, but that changes of speaker marked with paragraphi were much more easily overlooked by the copyists than were those marked with a name or abbreviated name.

The situation with the descendants of β is more complicated, not only because there are more manuscripts in this family but because some members of the family either omit portions of the text or omit certain types of indications of change of speaker in the portions of the text which they preserve, and because Triklinios and Musurus occasionally altered indications of change of speaker in the editions of the play which they produced. The descendants of β (or, at places in the text where π appears to have contained an error, Γ LAlD or LAlD only, or, at places in the text where Triklinios or Musurus have altered indications of change of speaker, the pre-Triklinian or pre-Musuran descendants of β , respectively, only) agree with RV in marking a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line 329 \times in the text of *Peace*. At 142 of these points, either R or V, and often both, gives the name of the speaker and agrees with the descendants of β on this count as well. R alone also agrees with the descendants of β in marking a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line an additional 28 \times , while V alone agrees with the descendants of β in marking a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line an additional 72 \times . The descendants of β (or, at places in the text where π appears to have contained an error, Γ LAlD or LAlD only, or at places in the text where Triklinios or Musurus altered indications of change of speaker, the pre-Triklinian or pre-Musuran descendants of β , respectively, only) also agree with RV in marking a change of speaker within a line 93 \times and agree with R in marking a change of speaker within a line an additional 6 \times and with V alone in marking a change of speaker within a line an additional 21 \times .¹⁶ All this suggests that the tradition of indications of change of speaker which lies behind RV is somehow related to that preserved in the descendants of β . Where the descendants of β mark a change of speaker, however, they always do so with a name or an abbreviated name rather than with a paragraphos, and RV agree in marking a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line 13 \times in the text of *Peace* (10 \times with names or abbreviated names) where the descendants of β either have no change of speaker or identify the speaker differently,¹⁷ and agree in marking a change of speaker within a line at one

¹⁶ Cf. the very similar ratio of what seem to be independent errors in marking a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line in R (72) and V (28) above; clearly R is about three times as sloppy as V in this regard.

¹⁷ It is important to note that in some places where we have explicit indications of change of speaker only in RV and LAlD (e.g. 255, 500, 528), it is possible that the descendants of β originally had the same name as is in RV and the name in LAlD is a Triklinian innovation (cf. 464, where Triklinios has changed Xo [Γ PCH] to Tp [LAlD]).

point (before ταῦτ' in 617) where the descendants of β do not mark one. The descendants of β, meanwhile, mark 12 changes of speaker coinciding with the beginning of a line which are not indicated in either R or V¹⁸ and mark eight changes of speaker within a line which are not indicated in either R or V.¹⁹ The indications of change of speaker in the descendants of β thus apparently represent a tradition which is closely akin to but not identical with the one preserved in RV.

Of the descendants of β, Γ, which contains only lines 378–490, 548–837, 893–947 (om. 896b), 1012–1126 (om. 1076b), 1190–1300 and has hypotheses and scholia, is distinguished primarily by a tendency to mark a change of speaker which coincides with the beginning of a line by adding a dicolon at the end of the previous line to the abbreviated name typical of all members of the family and, in the case of a change of speaker which occurs within a line, frequently places a dicolon after (sometimes both before and after) the speaker's abbreviated name.

The descendants of π (i.e. PCH), which contain lines 1–947 (om. 896b), 1012–end (om. 1076b, 1365–66) and lack hypotheses and scholia, present a more complicated picture. PCH indicate change of speaker with a name or abbreviated name only in lines 1–20 (probably corresponding to the recto of the first folio of β), 378–490, 548–855, 868, 909–1300; elsewhere, they omit marginal indications of change of speaker but leave a space in the text at most points where other descendants of β mark a change of speaker within a line. The close correspondence between the points in the text where PCH indicate change of speaker with a name or abbreviated name and those portions of the text of *Peace* preserved in Γ (slightly obscured by the fact that there are no changes of speaker between lines 883 and 908) strongly suggests some sort of connection, if not between Γ itself and π, then at least between a manuscript closely related to Γ (perhaps Γ's exemplar or even β itself in its final, fragmentary form) and the indications of change of speaker in π. π itself must originally have lacked any indications of change of speaker by name or abbreviated name, except perhaps for in lines 1–20, although space for the insertion of such indications was left by the original copyist. By the time the second phase of the copying-process was undertaken, however, β had at least lost a large number of leaves and may well already have disappeared completely; no copy of the play which contained indications of change of speaker by name or abbreviated name in the portions of the text missing from β at the time it was copied to produce the exemplar of Γ was available; and substantial portions of π were therefore left with only occasional blank spaces within lines to indicate change of speaker. In addition, PCH omit the following indications of change of speaker found in both Γ and the descendants of τ and thus presumably in β:

¹⁸ I.e. at the beginning of 3, 8, 20, 486, 543, 942, 943, 1016, 1047, 1099, 1262, and 1298.

¹⁹ I.e. before δὲς in 2, ποῦ in 5, ὁρᾶς in 193, ἴθι in 538, αἰβοῖ in 544, ἀλλὰ in 930, ὥς in 1045, and δῆλός in 1048.

389 Τρ om.; 390a Χο om.; 1055 Θε om. ante καλῶς². These omissions are all almost certainly to be traced to π. PCH also omit, add or alter a number of indications of change of speaker in portions of the text of *Peace* preserved in the descendants of τ but not in Γ, including: 2 Οἱ pro 'Ετ; 12 Οἱ pro 'Ετ; 16 Οἱ pro 'Ετ; 107 spat. om. ante γράφομαι; 110 spat. om. ante ἰοῦ¹; 198 spat. om. ante ἀλλὰ; 224 spat. om. ante εἰς; 233 spat. om. ante οἶμοι; 256 spat. add. ante οὔτοσὶ; 283 spat. om. ante εἰς. Whether these errors are to be traced to π or whether they occurred in β and were corrected by Triklinios (cf. below) is impossible to say. At 460, PC give Χο ἢ Τρ, while Γ gives Τρ and HLAld give Χο, and it thus seems likely that PC preserve the original indication of speaker in β. Of the descendants of π, H is unique in placing dicola at the end of many lines which are followed by an indication of change of speaker in other manuscripts. These dicola begin in H at the end of line 267 and are found throughout the rest of the text, including at many points where PCH otherwise give no indication of change of speaker. Whether these marks were taken over by the H-copyist from π and were ignored by the P- and C-copyists or whether they are derived from some other source remains unclear. H also includes a number of unique indications of change of speaker, including: 5 'Ερ pro Οἱ ante ποῦ; 6 'Ερ pro Οἱ ante μὰ; 830 Θε om., Θε pro Τρ ante ξυνελέγοντ'; 934 Τρ om., Τρ pro Θε ante καὶ; 1064 'Ιε om., 'Ιε pro Θε ante ἦν, Θε pro Τρ ante καὶ; 1301 Πα add., Τρ add. ante κατήσχυνας. It is once again impossible to say whether these unique indications of change of speaker were taken over from some other source or whether they are simply mistakes or innovations on the part of the H-copyist, although the last possibility seems the most likely. That C is not simply a copy of P, as Platnauer argued, is apparent from the fact that P contains the following indications of change of speaker, in all which cases C agrees instead either with H and thus presumably with π (875), with all other descendants of β (383 [Aldine excluded], 538), or with all other manuscripts and the Aldine (399, 400): 383 'Ερ om.; 399 Τρ add.; 400 Τρ om.; 538 spat. om. ante ἴθι; 875 spat. om. ante κἀλήφθη.

Most of the indications of change of speaker in LBAld (or, in 45, LB alone) which differ from those common to GPCH are probably to be traced to the editorial activity of Demetrios Triklinios, although a few may simply represent errors in τ. These Triklinian emendations include: 45 'Ετ add. ante κᾶτ' (rejected by the Aldine); 435 Τρ add.; 464 Τρ pro Χο; 488 'Ερ pro Τρ; 489 Τρ add.; 872 Θε add. ante τίς, Θε om. ante τί²; 873 Τρ add.; 892 (?) om. ante ἐνταῦθα; 922 Χο pro Θε; 924 Χο pro Θε; 926 Χο pro Θε; 927 Χο pro Θε ante τῇ; 928 Χο pro Θε; 929 Χο pro Θε ante οἶ; 930 Χο pro Θε ante ναί; 931 Χο pro Θε ante ἐπίτηδές; 934 Χο pro Θε ante καὶ; 943 Χο add.; 1240 Σα om.

Of the individual manuscripts in the τ-subfamily, L, which contains lines 1–947, 1012–1227 (with 1228–68 added from the Aldine in very dark ink by a second hand, i.e. L²) and has hypotheses and scholia, indicates change of speaker by a name or abbreviated name throughout the text. L

offers a number of unique indications of change of speaker, including: 47 *Oi* add.; 425 *Xo* pro 'Ερ (ΓΡCHAl^d); 428 *Xo* om.; 865a *Tr* add. All of these may well be Triklinian emendations which were rejected by Musurus, like 'Ετ in 45 (above). L² has added changes of speaker which agree with those found in the Aldine and were presumably omitted in L^{ac} in 244, 246, 248, 250, 253, 255, and 329, along with one not found in the Aldine in 328.

B, which contains lines 1–947, 1012–1300 and lacks hypotheses and scholia, does not give names or abbreviated names for speakers anywhere in the text but does leave blank spaces for their insertion within lines when they occur there. B has added a space before τοῦ and οὐκ in 41, and before τὸ in 44.

The Aldine, which contains lines 1–947, 1012–end and includes hypotheses and scholia, indicates change of speaker with a name or abbreviated name throughout the text except in 1300–end, where Musurus' exemplar μ, like the other descendants of π, had no indications of change of speaker and Musurus did not add them. The indications of change of speaker in the Aldine occasionally disagree with those in LB, all descendants of π, or all other other manuscripts, including at the following points: 45 'Ετ om. ante κατ'; 283 *Tr* pro Κυ ante εἰς; 318 *Tr* add.; 1016 *Tr* om.; 1017 *Tr* om.; 1033 *Xo* om.; 1113 'Ιε om.; 1120 'Ιε pro *Tr*; 1197 Δρ om.; 1255 Δο pro Σα; 1300 Πα pro *Tr*. How many of these disagreements are simple errors and how many are deliberate corrections by Musurus cannot be said, although Musurus' unwillingness to add indications of change of speaker in lines 1301 ff. suggests that he was not much interested in altering or expanding the tradition he had inherited, at least in this respect.²⁰

In the catalogue which follows, indications of change of speaker whose location in the line is not specified (e.g. 1, 3, 4) can be assumed to be in the left margin. I list papyri first, followed by R and V, in that order, as the oldest manuscripts and representatives of a single tradition (cf. above); Γ and the descendants of π, in that order; the Triklinian manuscripts (i.e. the descendants of τ) L and B, in that order; the Aldine; and finally the scholia vetera.²¹ "dic.*" indicates that a dicolon appears not before the line in question itself but at the end of the preceding line. *Oi* stands for Οἰκέτης; 'Ετ for 'Ετερος οἰκέτης; 'Ερ for 'Ερμῆς; *Tr* for Τρυγαῖος; Πα for Παῖς or Παῖδες; Πο for Πόλεμος; Κυ for Κυδοιμός; Χο for Χορός; Θε for Θεράπων; 'Ιε for 'Ιεροκλῆς; Δρ for Δρεπανουργός; Λο for Λοφοποιός; Θω for Θωρακοπώλης; Σα for Σαλπιγγοποιός; Κρ for Κρανοπώλης; Δο for Δορυξόος; Πα Κλ for Παῖς Κλεωνόμου; 'Ημυχ for 'Ημυχόριον. I ignore the manuscripts' eccentricities of

²⁰ For the generally conservative character of Musurus' text, see Wilson (above, note 1) 34.

²¹ Cited from D. Holwerda (ed.), *Scholia in Aristophanem* II.2: *Scholia vetera et recentiora in Aristophanis Pacem* (Groningen 1982). At points in the text where my line-numbers differ from those used by Holwerda, I have added my own in brackets at the end of the citation, e.g. Σ^V 1335 [1338].

abbreviation and accordingly give (e.g.) the siglum Τρ for the readings Τρ, Τρν, Τρν^γ, Τρν^{γαιος}, and all other variants thereof. Ει in PCH in 8 would seem to be a conflation of Οι and "Ετ; certainly it does not stand for Ειρήνη. Nothing in this catalogue should be taken to suggest that I endorse placing an indication of change of speaker at any particular point in the text.

- 1-18 δύο εἰσὶν οἰκέται, ὧν ὁ μὲν τρέφει τὸν κάνθαρον, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος
μάττει Σ^{RV} Ic
- 1 Οἱ RVLAlD Σ^{RV} Ic
- 2 ¹ἰδοῦ. ²δὸς ἀντῶ, τῶ κάκιστ' ἀπολουμένῳ.
¹"Ετ RVLAlD: Οἱ PC: dic.* et Οἱ H ²Οἱ PCLAlD: dic. et 'Ερ H:
spat. B
- 3 "Ετ PCLAlD: dic.* H
- 4 par. V: Οἱ PCLAlD: dic.* et Οἱ H
- 5 ¹ἰδοῦ μάλ' αἰθις. ²ποῦ γὰρ ἦν νῦν δὴ 'φερες;
¹par. RV: "Ετ PCLAlD: dic.* et 'Ερ H ²Οἱ PCLAlD: dic. et 'Ερ
H: spat. B
- 6 οὐ κατέφαγεν; ¹μὰ τὸν Δί' ἄλλ' ἐξαρπάσας
¹dic. V: "Ετ PCLAlD: 'Ερ H: spat. B
- 8 Ει PC: dic.* et Ει H: Οἱ LAlD
- 9 par. RV: "Ετ PCLAlD: dic.* et "Ετ H
- 11 par. R: Οἱ PCLAlD: dic.* et Οἱ H
- 12 τετριμμένης γάρ φησιν ἐπιθυμεῖν. ¹ἰδοῦ.
¹dic. RV: Οἱ PC: dic. et Οἱ H: "Ετ LAlD: spat. B
- 15 par. R: dic.* et par. V: Οἱ PCLAlD: dic.* et Οἱ H
- 16 καὶ τριῖβ' ἑτέρας <αὔ>. ¹μὰ τὸν 'Απόλλω γὼ μὲν οὔ
¹dic. RV: Οἱ PC: dic. et Οἱ H: "Ετ LAlD: spat. B
- 19 par. V: Οἱ PCLAlD: dic.* H
- 20 "Ετ PCLAlD: dic.* H
- 40 dic.* V: Οἱ LAlD
- 41 οὐ μὴν Χαρίτων γε. ¹τοῦ γάρ ἐστ'; ²οὐκ ἐσθ' ὅπως
¹spat. B ²spat. B
- 43 "Ετ RVLAlD
- 44 νεανίας δοκησίσοφος. ¹τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα τί;
¹spat. B

- 45 ¹ὁ κἀνθαρος δὲ πρὸς τί; ²κᾶτ' αὐτῷ γ' ἀνὴρ
¹Οἱ L ²Ἔτ L: spat. B
- 47 Οἱ L
- 49 Ἔτ L
- 50 par. V: Οἱ LAld
- 62 Τρ RVLAlD Σ^V 63d
- 64 Οἱ RVLAlD
- 82–91 διπλῇ καὶ εἴσθεσις εἰς περίοδον ἀναπαιστικὴν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν
 Τρυγαίου καὶ τοῦ οἰκέτου Σ^V 82a
- 82 Τρ RVLAlD Σ^V 82j
- 90 Οἱ RVLAlD
- 91 par. V: Τρ LAld
- 92 par. V: Οἱ LAld
- 93 par. RV: Τρ LAld
- 94 Οἱ L
- 95 par. RV: Οἱ Ald
- 96 par. RV: Τρ LAld
- 102 par. RV: Οἱ LAld
- 103 ὅποι πέτεσθαι διανοεῖ. ¹τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἦ
¹dic. et par. R: dic. V: spat. PHB: incip. nov. lin. C: Τρ LAld
- 104 ὥς τὸν Δί' εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; ¹τίνα νοῦν ἔχων;
¹dic. RV: spat. PB: incip. nov. lin. CH: Οἱ LAld
- 105 par. R: dic.* et par. V: Τρ Ald
- 107 ¹ἐὰν δὲ μή σοι καταγορεύῃ; ²γράφομαι
¹par. R: dic.* et par. V: Οἱ LAld ²dic. et par. R: dic. V: Τρ
 LAld: spat. B
- 109 par. RV: Οἱ LAld
- 110 ¹οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ ταῦτ' ἄλλ'. ²ιοῦ ἰοῦ ἰοῦ.
¹par. R: dic.* et par. V: Τρ LAld ²dic. RV: Οἱ LAld: spat. B
- 114 Πα RVLAlD Σ^{RV} 114d
- 119 par. R: Τρ LAld
- 124 par. RV: Πα LAld

- 126 par. RV: Τρ LAld
- 127 par. RV: Πα LAld
- 129 par. RV: Τρ LAld
- 131 par. R: Πα LAld
- 133 par. R: Τρ LAld
- 135 par. R: Πα LAld
- 137 par. R: Τρ LAld
- 140 par. RV: Πα LAld
- 142 par. RV: Τρ LAld
- 144 par. RV: Πα LAld
- 145 par. RV: Τρ LAld
- 146 par. RV: Πα LAld
- 149 dic.* et par. V: Τρ LAld
- 173 par. R
- 180 'Ερ RVLald Σ^V 180d Σ^{RV} 180e Σ^V 185d
- 181 ¹ τουτὶ τί ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν; ² ἱπποκάνθαρος.
¹ Τρ R ² Τρ VLald: spat. PB
- 182 'Ερ RLald
- 185 τί σοί ποτ' ἔστ' ὄνομ'; οὐκ ἐρεῖς; ¹ μιαρώτατος.
¹ Τρ P.Berol. 21 223 LAld: dic. RV: spat. PB: incip. nov. lin. CH
- 186 ¹ ποδαπὸς τὸ γένος δ' εἶ; φράζε μοι. ² μιαρώτατος.
¹ par. RV² (vers. om. V): spat. intra μιαρώτατος (ex 185) et ποδαπὸς C: 'Ερ LAld ² dic. P.Berol. 21 223 R: incip. nov. lin. PCH: Τρ LAld: spat. B
- 187 ¹ πατήρ δέ σοι τίς ἐστ'; ² ἐμοί; μιαρώτατος.
¹ par. V: spat. intra μιαρώτατος (ex 186) et πατήρ PC: 'Ερ LAld: vers. om. R ² dic. et par. V: spat. PCB: Τρ LAld: vers. om. R
- 188 par. RV: 'Ερ LAld
- 190 par. RV: Τρ LAld
- 192 ¹ ἥκεις δὲ κατὰ τί; ² τὰ κρέα ταυτί σοι φέρων.
¹ par. R: dic.* et par. V: 'Ερ LAld ² dic. V: spat. PCB: Τρ LAld

- 193 ¹ ὧ δειλακρίων, πῶς ἦλθες; ² ὧ γλίσχρων, ³ ὁρᾷς
¹ par. R: dic.* et par. V: 'Ep LAld ² dic. V ³ spat. PCHB: Tp
 LAld
- 195 ἴθι νυν, κάλεσόν μοι τὸν Δί'. ¹ ἰηῦ ² ἰηῦ ἰηῦ,
¹ dic. R: dic. et 'Ep V: spat. P(?) B: 'Ep LAld ² 'Ep P.Berol. 21
 223
- 198 ¹ ποῖ γῆς; ² ἰδοὺ γῆς. ³ ἀλλὰ ποῖ; ⁴ πόρρω πάνυ,
¹ dic.* P.Berol. 21 223: Tp RLALd: par. V ² dic. RV: spat. P(?)
 C(?) B: 'Ep LAld ³ dic. RV: Tp LAld: spat. B ⁴ dic. RV: spat.
 P(?) B: 'Ep LAld
- 200 dic.* P.Berol. 21 223: Tp RLALd: par. V
- 201 'Ep RLALd: par. V
- 203 Tp RLALd: par. V
- 204 'Ep RLALd: par. V
- 207 par. V
- 210 Tp RLALd: par. V
- 211 'Ep RLALd: dic.* et par. V
- 220 Tp R: dic.* et par. V
- 221 par. V
- 222 τὸ λοιπὸν ὄψεσθ'. ¹ ἀλλὰ ποῖ γὰρ οἴχεται;
¹ dic. V: spat. PCB: Tp LAld
- 223 'Ep RLALd Σ^{RV} 299b.α: par. V
- 224 ¹ εἰς ποῖον; ² εἰς τουτὶ τὸ κάτω. κᾶπειθ' ὁρᾷς
¹ Tp RLALd: par. V ² dic. V: spat. C(?) B: 'Ep LAld
- 226 ἵνα μὴ λάβῃτε μηδέποτ' αὐτήν. ¹ εἰπέ μοι,
¹ dic. RV: spat. PCHB: Tp LAld
- 228 par. R: dic.* et par. V: 'Ep LAld
- 229 par. V
- 230 Tp RLALd: par. V
- 231 par. V: 'Ep LAld
- 233 μέλλει. θορυβεῖ γούν ἔνδοθεν. ¹ οἴμοι δεῖλαιος.
¹ dic. V: Tp LAld: spat. B
- 236 Πo RVLALd: τινές φασι τὸν Δία ταῦτα λέγειν Σ^V 236c
- 237 dic.* V

- 238 Τρ RVLAlD
- 242 Πο R(?) LAlD: par. V
- 244 par. V: Τρ L² Ald
- 246 par. V: Πο L² Ald Σ^{RV} 246a. α
- 248 par. V: Τρ L² Ald
- 250 par. V: Πο L² Ald
- 252 Πο R(?) Σ^{RV} 252b: par. V: Τρ L^{ac}
- 253 par. V: Τρ L² Ald
- 255 ¹παῖ παῖ Κυδοιμέ. ²τί με καλεῖς; ³κλαύσει μακρά. ⁴
¹Κυ R: par. V: Πο L² Ald ²dic. R: dic. et Κυ V: spat. PCB: dic.
et spat. H: Κυ LAlD ³dic. R: Πο VLAlD: spat. PCB: dic. et spat.
H ⁴Πο R
- 256 ἔστηκας ἀργός; ¹οὔτοσί σοι κόνδυλος.
¹spat. PCH
- 257 ¹ὥς δριμύς. ²οἶμοι μοι τάλας, ³ὦ δέσποτα,
¹Κυ RV ²dic. R: spat. PCHB: Κυ LAlD
- 259 ¹οἷσιν ἀλετρίβανον τρέχων; ²ἀλλ', ὦ μέλε,
¹Πο RLAlD: par. V ²dic. R: spat. PCHB: Κυ LAlD
- 261 Πο RLAlD: par. V
- 262 dic.* R: par. V: Κυ LAlD
- 263 Τρ RVLAlD
- 264 Κυ LAlD
- 268 ¹οὔτος. ²τί ἐστίν; ³οὐ φέρεις; ⁴τὸ δεῖνα γάρ,
¹Πο RVLAlD: dic.* H ²Κυ RVLAlD: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H
³dic. RV: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H: Πο LAlD ⁴dic. RV: spat.
PCB: dic. et spat. H: Κυ LAlD
- 271 Τρ RVL: dic.* H: Τφν [sic] Ald
- 274 Πο RVLAlD Σ^V 275a
- 275 ¹ἀνύσας τι; ²ταῦτ', ὦ δέσποθ'. ³ἦκέ νυν ταχύ.
¹dic.* H ²dic. et par. R: dic. V: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H: Κυ
LAlD ³dic. RV: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H: Πο LAlD
- 276 Τρ RLAlD: dic.* et Τρ V
- 280 Κυ RLAlD: dic.* et Κυ V: dic.* H

- 281 ¹ τί ἐστι; μὼν οὐκ αὖ φέρεις; ² ἀπόλωλε γὰρ
¹Πο RLAlD: dic.* et Πο V ²dic. R: spat. PCHB: Κυ LAlD
- 283 ¹ πῶς, ὦ πανοῦργ'; ² εἰς τὰπὶ Θράκης χωρία
¹Πο RLAlD: par. V ²dic. et par. R: dic. V: Κυ L: spat. B: Τρ
Ald
- 285 Τρ RVLAlD: dic.* H
- 287 Πο RVLAlD
- 289 par. RV: Τρ LAlD
- 299–300 διπλῇ καὶ εἴσθεσις εἰς στίχους τροχαικοὺς τετραμέτρους
καταληκτικοὺς β', οὓς ἐτι ὁ πρεσβύτης λέγει Σ^V 299a
- 301 Xo RVLAlD: Χορὸς γερόντων L
- 309 Τρ VLAlD
- 310 dic.* H
- 311 Xo RVLAlD: dic.* H
- 313 par. RV: Τρ LAlD
- 315 dic.* H
- 316 par. R: dic.* H: Xo LAlD
- 317 ἦν ἄπαξ εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθῃ τὰς ἐμάς· ¹ιοῦ ιοῦ.
¹dic. et par. R: dic. V: spat. PCHB: Τρ L: τὸ ιοῦ ιοῦ τινὲς τοῦ
χοροῦ φασιν Σ^{RV} 317b.α (cf. Σ^V 317a)
- 318 Τρ Ald
- 320 par. RV: dic.* H: Xo LAlD
- 322 par. RV: Τρ LAlD
- 324 par. RV: dic.* H: Xo LAlD
- 326 par. V: Τρ LAlD
- 327 ¹ἦν ἰδοῦ, καὶ δὴ πέπαυμαι. ²φῆς γε, παύει δ' οὐδέπω.
¹par. V: Xo LAlD ²dic. et par. R: dic. V: spat. PCB: dic. et spat.
H: Τρ LAlD
- 328 par. RV: Xo L²
- 329 par. RV: Τρ L² Ald
- 330 par. V: dic.* H: Xo LAlD

- 331 ¹ ἄλλ', ὀρᾶτ', οὐπω πέπανυσθε. ² τουτογὶ νῆ τὸν Δία
¹ par. RV: dic.* H: Tp LAld ² dic. V: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H:
 Xo LAld
- 333 par. RV: dic.* H: Tp LAld
- 334 dic.* VH: Xo LAld
- 337 par. RV: dic.* H: Tp LAld
- 345 Xo RLALd
- 361 Tp RVLALd: dic.* H
- 362 par. R: 'Ep VLALd Σ^R 362: dic.* H
- 363 par. RV: Tp LAld
- 364 ¹ ἀπόλωλας, ὦ κακόδαιμον. ² οὐκοῦν, ἦν λάχω·
¹ par. RV: dic.* (vers. om.) H: 'Ep LAld ² dic. et par. RV: spat.
 PCB: Tp LAld: vers. om. H
- 366 ¹ ἀπόλωλας, ἐξόλωλας. ² εἰς τίν' ἡμέραν;
¹ par. R: 'Ep LAld ² dic. et par. RV: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H:
 Tp LAld
- 367 ¹ εἰς αὐτίκα μάλ'. ² ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἡμπόληκά πω,
¹ par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* H: 'Ep LAld ² dic. et par. R: dic.
 V: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H: Tp LAld
- 369 ¹ καὶ μὴν ἐπιτέτριψαί γε. ² καῖτα τῷ τρόπῳ
¹ par. RV: 'Ep LAld ² dic. et par. R: dic. V: spat. PCB: dic. et
 spat. H: Tp LAld
- 371 par. RV: dic.* H: 'Ep LAld
- 372 ταύτην ἀνορύττων εὐρεθῆ; ¹ νῦν ἄρά με
¹ dic. et par. R: dic. V: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H: Tp LAld
- 373 ἅπασ' ἀνάγκη 'στ' ἀποθανεῖν; ¹ εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι.
¹ dic. et par. R: dic. V: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H: 'Ep LAld
- 374 par. R: dic.* et par. V: Tp LAld
- 376 ¹ ὦ Ζεῦ κεραυνοβρόντα— ² μὴ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
¹ par. RV: dic.* H: 'Ep LAld Σ^{RV} 376 ² dic. et par. R: dic. V:
 spat. PCHB: Tp LAld
- 378 ¹ οὐκ ἂν σιωπήσασαιμι. ² ναὶ πρὸς τῶν κρεῶν
¹ par. R: dic.* et par. V: 'Ep ΓPCLALd: dic.* et 'Ep H ² dic. et
 par. R: dic. V: Tp ΓPCLALd: dic. et Tp H: spat. B
- 380 par. R: dic.* et par. V: 'Ep ΓPCLALd: dic.* et 'Ep H
- 382 par. RV: Tp ΓPCLALd: dic.* et Tp H

- 383 par. R: 'Ερ ΓCL: dic.* et 'Ερ H
- 385 Xo RΓPCLAld: dic.* et Xo VH
- 389 Τρ RVΓLAld: dic.* H
- 390a Xo RVΓLAld
- 399 Τρ P
- 400 Τρ RVΓCLAld: dic.* et Τρ H
- 402 par. V: 'Ερ ΓPCLAld: dic.* et 'Ερ H: vers. om. R
- 403 par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAld
- 405 'Ερ RVPCLAld: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH
- 406 par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAld
- 409 ¹ἴνα δὴ τί τοῦτο δρᾶτον; ²ὅτι τὴ νῆ Δία
¹ par. V: 'Ερ ΓPCLAld: dic.* et 'Ερ H ² dic. RV: Τρ ΓPCLAld:
dic. et Τρ H: spat. B
- 410 ἡμεῖς μὲν ὑμῖν θύομεν, ¹τούτοισι δὲ
¹spat. C
- 414 par. RV: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH: 'Ερ PCLAld Σ^{VF} 414a
- 416 par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAld
- 418 dic.* H
- 420 dic.* H
- 425 par. RV: 'Ερ ΓPCAld: dic.* et 'Ερ H: Xo L
- 426 'Ερ L Σ^{VF} 426c
- 428 Xo RPCAld: dic.* et Xo VΓH
- 431 Τρ RVΓPCLAld: dic.* et Τρ H
- 433 'Ερ RPCLAld Σ^{RVΓ} 433: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH
- 435 Τρ LAld
- 439 Xo RVPCLAld: dic.* et Xo ΓH
- 441–52 δύο πρόσωπα ταῦτά φησιν, ὧν ὁ μὲν εὐχεται, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος
ἀκόλουθα τῇ εὐχῇ λέγει Σ^{RVΓ} 441 (cf. Σ^{VF} 444)
- 441 par. V: dic.* et Τρ Γ: Τρ PCHLAld
- 443 Xo H
- 444 par. V: dic.* et Xo Γ: Xo PCLAld: dic.* H

- 447 par. RV: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCLAlD
- 450 par. V: Xo ΓPCLAlD: dic.* et Xo H
- 454 par. RV: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCLAlD
- 455 par. V: dic.* et Xo ΓΗ: Xo PCLAlD
- 456 par. V: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCLAlD
- 457 ¹ Ἄρει δὲ ² μή. μή. ³ μηδ' Ἐνυαλίῳ γε. ⁴ μή.
¹ par. V: Xo ΓPCLAlD: dic.* et Xo H ² dic. V: dic. et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCLAlD: spat. B ³ dic. V: dic. et Xo ΓΗ: Xo PCLAlD: spat. B
⁴ dic. RV: dic. et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCLAlD: spat. B
- 458 dic.* V: dic.* et Xo ΓΗ: Xo PCLAlD
- 459–63 διπλῇ καὶ εἴσθεσις <εἰς περικοπὴν> ἀμοιβαίαν τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ . . . ἔχει . . . ἀλλαγὴν τῶν προσώπων Σ^{VT} 459a: ταῦτα ἀνὰ μέρος λέγεται, τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ κελεύοντος . . . , τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐλκόντων ὑπακούοντων Σ^{RVΓ} 459c: ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐπιτάττει τοῖς ἔλκουσι . . . οἱ δὲ . . . ἀποκρίνονται Σ^{VT} 459d
- 459 Ἐρ RVPCLAlD Σ^{RVΓ} 459c Σ^{VT} 459d: dic.* et Ἐρ ΓΗ
- 460 par. V: dic.* et Tp Γ: Xo ἢ Tp PC: dic.* et Xo H: Xo LAlD
- 461 par. V: dic.* et Ἐρ ΓΗ: Ἐρ PCLAlD
- 462 par. V: Xo ΓPCLAlD: dic.* et Xo H
- 463 par. V: dic.* et Ἐρ ΓΗ: Ἐρ PCLAlD
- 464 Tp RV: Xo ΓPCLAlD: dic.* et Xo H
- 467 Ἐρ RPCLAlD: dic.* et Ἐρ VΓΗ
- 468 dic. et par. V: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCLAlD
- 469 Xo RVΓPCLAlD Σ^{RG} 469b: dic.* et Xo H
- 470 Tp RΓPCLAlD: dic.* et Tp VH
- 472 par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Ἐρ ΓΗ: Ἐρ PCLAlD Σ^{RVΓ} 472b
- 473 Tp R: dic.* et Tp V: dic.* et Xo ΓΗ: Xo PCLAlD
- 474 dic.* V
- 475 dic.* et Ἐρ VΓΗ: Ἐρ PCLAlD
- 478 Tp RVPCLAlD: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ
- 479 par. R: Ἐρ ΓPCLAlD: dic.* et Ἐρ H

- 481 'Ερ RV: dic.* et Xo ΓH: Xo PCLAld: τοῦτο οἱ κακῶς ἐξηγούμενοι
τοῦ Τρυγαίου φασίν Σ^Γ 481a
- 484 Τρ RVΓPCALd et (?) L^{ac}: dic.* et Τρ H
- 486 'Ερ ΓPCLAld: dic.* et 'Ερ H
- 487 dic.* et. par. V: Xo PC: dic.* et Xo H: Τρ LAld
- 488 par. V: Τρ ΓPC: dic.* et Τρ H: 'Ερ LAld
- 489 dic.* V: Τρ LAld
- post 489 ¹ ὦ εἰα ὦ εἰα
¹ 'Ερ LAld
- 490 Xo RVΓPCLAld: dic.* et Xo H
- 491 dic.* V: Τρ LAld
- 493 dic.* V: Xo LAld
- 494 par. V: 'Ερ LAld
- 495 dic. et par. V: Τρ LAld
- 496 Xo RVLAlld
- 497 dic.* et par. V
- 499 par. V
- 500 'Ερ RV: Τρ LAld
- 508 Xo RVLAlld
- 509 'Ερ RVLAlld Σ^{RV} 509
- 510 par. V: Xo LAld
- 511 Τρ RVLAlld
- 512–19 διπλῇ καὶ εἴσθεις εἰς περίοδον κώλων ἢ ἀμοιβαίων τοῦ χοροῦ
καὶ τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ Σ^R 512a
- 512 Xo RVLAlld
- 513 'Ερ V
- 516 par. V
- 517 par. V
- 520 Τρ RVLAlld
- 527 'Ερ RV

- 528 Τρ RV: 'Ερ LAld
- 532 ἐπυλλίων Εὐριπίδου — ¹ κλαύσᾳρα σὺ
¹ dic. et par. R: dic. V: spat. PCHB: Τρ LAld
- 533 ταύτης καταψευδόμενος· ¹ οὐ γὰρ ἤδεται
¹ spat. PC
- 538 ἄλλων τε πολλῶν κάγαθῶν. ¹ ἴθι νυν, ἄθρει
¹ spat. CHB: 'Ερ LAld
- 543 Τρ LAld
- 544 τὰ πρόσωφ', ἵνα γνῶς τὰς τέχνας. ¹ αἰβοῖ τάλας.
¹ spat. P(?) CB: 'Ερ LAld
- 548 par. V: Τρ ΓPCLAld: dic.* et Τρ H
- 550 'Ερ RVΓPCLAld: dic.* et 'Ερ H
- 551 dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAld
- 556 Χο RPCLAld: dic.* et Χο VΓH: οἱ γεωργοὶ ταῦτά φασι Σ^{VT} 556
- 560 Τρ RVPCLAld: dic.* et Τρ ΓH
- 564 'Ερ RVPCLAld Σ^{RVΓ} 564a: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH
- 566 dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAld
- 582 Χο RVPCLAld Σ^V 582a: dic.* et Χο ΓH
- 603 'Ερ RVPCLAld Σ^{VT} 603b: dic.* et 'Ερ Γ: dic.* H
- 604 ῥήματ', ¹ εἰ βούλεσθ' ἀκοῦσαι τήνδ' ὅπως ἀπώλετο.
¹ spat. C
- 615 Τρ RVPCLAld: dic.* et Τρ ΓH
- 617 ¹ οὐδ' ἔγωγε πλήν γε νυνί. ² ταῦτ' ἄρ' εὐπρόσωπος ἦν,
¹ Χο RPCLAld: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Χο ΓH ² dic. RV
- 619 dic.* P.Vindob.G. 29354: 'Ερ VPCLAld: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH
- 628 Τρ R: par. V: dic.* et Χο ΓH: Χο PCLAld
- 630 Χο R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAld
- 632 'Ερ RVPCLAld: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH
- 648 βυρσοπώλης. ¹ παῦε παῦ', ὦ δέσποθ' 'Ερμῆ, μὴ λέγε,
¹ dic. et par. R: dic. et Τρ VΓ: Τρ PCLAld Σ^{VT} 648a: spat. HB
- 652 dic.* V
- 658 'Ερ RVPCLAld: dic.* et 'Ερ Γ: dic.* H

- 660 Τρ RVPCLAlD: dic.* et Τρ Γ: dic.* H
- 661 'Ερ RPCLAlD: dic.* et 'Ερ Γ: dic.* H
- 664 par. R
- 668 Τρ RVΓPCLAlD: dic.* H
- 670 par. RV: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH: 'Ερ PCLAlD
- 673 par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAlD
- 674 par. RV: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH: 'Ερ PCLAlD
- 675 ὁ Κλεώνυμος; ¹ ψυχὴν γ' ἄριστος, πλήν γ' ὅτι
¹ par. R: Τρ VPCLAlD: dic. et Τρ ΓH: spat. B
- 679 par. RV: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH: 'Ερ PCLAlD
- 681 par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAlD
- 683 par. RV: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH: 'Ερ PCLAlD
- 685 par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAlD
- 688 par. RV: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH: 'Ερ PCLAlD
- 689 ¹ εὐβουλότεροι γενησόμεθα. ² τρόπῳ τίνι;
¹ dic.* et par. R: par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAlD ² dic. et
par. R
- 690 par. R
- 693a par. R: 'Ερ VPCLAlD: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH
- 693b ¹ οἷά μ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπυθέσθαι σου. ² τὰ τί;
¹ 'Ερ C^{ac} ² dic. et par. R: dic. V: dic. et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAlD:
spat. B
- 694 par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH: 'Ερ PCLAlD
- 696 ¹ εὐδαιμονεῖ· πάσχει δὲ θαυμαστόν. ² τὸ τί;
¹ dic.* et par. R: par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAlD ² dic. et par.
RV: dic. et 'Ερ ΓH: 'Ερ PCLAlD: spat. B
- 697 dic.* et par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAlD
- 698 ¹ Σιμωνίδης; πῶς; ² ὅτι γέρων ὦν καὶ σαπρὸς
¹ par. RV: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH: 'Ερ PCLAlD ² dic. et par. R: dic. V:
dic. et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLAlD: spat. B
- 700 ¹ τί δαί; Κρατῖνος ὁ σοφός ἐστιν; ² ἀπέθανεν
¹ dic.* et par. R: par. V: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓH: 'Ερ PCLAlD ² dic. et
par. R: dic. V: Τρ ΓPCLAlD: dic. et Τρ H: spat. B

- 701 ὅθ' οἱ Λάκωνες ἐνέβαλον. ¹ τί παθών; ² ὅ τι;
¹ dic. et par. R: dic. V: dic. et 'Ερ ΓΗ: 'Ερ PCLALd: spat. B ² dic.
et par. R: dic. V: dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd: spat. B
- 706 par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓΗ: 'Ερ PCLALd
- 709 par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd
- 712 ¹ οὐκ, ² εἴ γε κυκεῶν ' ἐπιπίοις βληχωνίαν.
¹ par. RV: 'Ερ ΓPCLALd: dic.* et 'Ερ Η ² dic. et par. V
- 715 dic.* et par. R: par. V: Τρ ΓPCLALd: dic.* et Τρ Η
- 718 ἀλλ', ὦ φίλ', 'Ερμῇ, χαίρει πολλά. ¹ καὶ σύ γε,
¹ dic. et par. R: dic. V: dic. et 'Ερ ΓΗ: 'Ερ PCLALd: spat. B
- 719 Τρ C
- 720 par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd
- 721 ¹ οὐκ ἐνθάδ', ὦ τᾶν, ἐστί. ² ποῖ γὰρ οὔχεται;
¹ par. RV: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓΗ: 'Ερ PCLALd ² dic. et par. R: dic. V:
dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd: spat. B
- 722 par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓΗ: 'Ερ PCLALd
- 723 par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd
- 724 par. RV: dic.* et 'Ερ ΓΗ: 'Ερ PCLALd
- 725 ¹ πῶς δῆτ' ἐγὼ καταβήσομαι; ² θάρρει, καλῶς·
¹ par. R: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd ² dic. et par. R: dic. et 'Ερ
ΓΗ: 'Ερ PCLALd: spat. B
- 726 τηδὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν θεόν. ¹ δεῦρ', ὦ κόραι,
¹ dic. et par. R: dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd: spat. B
- 729 dic.* PSI 720: κομμάτιον Χο RVPCL: dic.* et κομμάτιον Χο ΓΗ
Χο Ald
- 734 παράβασις RΓPCLALd: par. V: dic.* et παράβασις Η
- 765 πνίγος R: dic.* et πνίγος Γ
- 775 ὠδὴ καὶ στροφή RΓ: dic.* et ὠδὴ καὶ ἐπιστροφή V: ὠδὴ ἡ καὶ
στροφή P: ὠδὴ ἡ καὶ στροφή Χο C: ὠδὴ Η: Χο στροφή L: Χο Ald
- 796 ἀντωδὴ καὶ ἀντιστροφή RVL: ἀντωδὴ ἡ καὶ ἀντιστροφή ΓPCH
- 819 Τρ PSI 720 RVPCLALd Σ^{RVΓ} 819c: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ
- 824 ¹ ὦ δέεσποθ', ἦκεις; ² ὥς ἐγὼ ' πυθόμην τινός.
¹ Θε RPCLALd: dic.* et Θε VΓΗ ² dic. PSI 720: Τρ RVΓPCHL
Ald: spat. B

- 825 ¹ τί δ' ἔπαθες; ² ἤλγουν τὼ σκέλει μακρὰν ὁδὸν
¹ par. R: dic.* et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PCLAlD ² dic. PSI 720 V: dic. et
par. R: dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAlD: spat. B
- 826 διεληλυθώς. ¹ ἴθι νυν, κάτειπέ μοι— ² τὸ τί;
¹ dic. PSI 720 V: dic. et par. R: dic. et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PCLAlD: spat. B
² dic. PSI 720 V: dic. et par. R: Τρ ΓPCLAlD: dic. et Τρ H: spat. B
- 827 par. R: dic.* V: Θε ΓPCLAlD: dic.* et Θε H
- 828 ¹ πλανώμενον πλὴν σαυτόν; ² οὐκ, εἰ μή γέ που
¹ Θε C ² dic. RV: Τρ ΓPCHLAlD: spat. B
- 830 ¹ τί δ' ἔδρων; ² ξυνελέγοντ' ἀναβολὰς ποτώμεναι
¹ par. RV: dic.* et Θε Γ: Θε PCLAlD: dic.* H ² dic. R: dic. et par.
V: dic. et Τρ Γ: Τρ PCLAlD: dic. et Θε H: spat. B
- 831 par. V
- 832 par. R: dic.* et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PCLAlD
- 834 ¹ μάλιστα. ² καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ἀστήρ νῦν ἐκεῖ;
¹ par. RV: Τρ ΓPCLAlD: dic.* et Τρ H ² dic. RV: dic. et Θε ΓΗ:
Θε PCLAlD: spat. B
- 835 par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAlD
- 838 par. RV: Θε PCLAlD: dic.* et Θε H
- 839 ¹ οἱ καόμενοι θέουσιν; ² ἀπὸ δείπνου τινὲς
¹ par. V ² dic. et par. R: dic. V: Τρ PCLAlD, cf. Σ^V 842a: dic. et
Τρ H: spat. B
- 847 ¹ πόθεν δ' ἔλαβες ταύτας σύ; ² πόθεν; ἐκ τούρανου.
¹ par. RV: Θε PCLAlD: dic.* et Θε H ² dic. et par. R: dic. V: Τρ
PCLAlD: dic. et Τρ H: spat. B
- 848 par. R: dic.* et par. V: Θε PCLAlD: dic.* et Θε H
- 850 par. RV: Τρ PCLAlD: dic.* et Τρ H
- 851 par. RV: Θε PCLAlD Σ^{RV} 851a: dic.* et Θε H
- 852 ταύτη τι; μηδέν. ¹ οὐ γὰρ ἐθελήσει φαγεῖν
¹ dic. et par. R: dic. V: Τρ PCLAlD: dic.* et Τρ H: spat. B
- 855 par. RV: Θε PCLAlD: dic.* et Θε H
- 856 Xo RVLAlD Σ^V 856a: dic.* H
- 859 Τρ RLAlD Σ^V 856a: dic.* et Τρ V: vers. om. PCH
- 860 Xo RVLAlD Σ^V 856a

- 863 par. RV: Γε P: dic.* H: Τρ LAld
- 864 par. RV: dic.* H
- 865a par. R: dic.* et par. V: Τρ L
- 868 Θε RVPCLAld: dic.* et Θε H
- 871 Τρ RVLALd: dic.* H
- 872 ἀνύσαντε τῇ βουλῇ. ¹ τίς αὐτῇ; ² τί φῆς;
¹ Θε LAld: spat. B ² dic. et par. R: dic. V: spat. PC: dic. et spat. H
- 873 Τρ LAld
- 875 ¹ σάφ' ἴσθι· ² καλήφθη γε μόλις. ³ ὦ δέσποτα,
¹ par. R: dic.* et par. V ² spat. CH ³ dic. et par. R: dic. V: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H: Θε LAld
- 877 par. R: dic.* et par. V: Τρ LAld, cf. Σ^{RV} 879b ἐπιτιμᾷ ὁ δεσπότης
- 879 οὗτος, τί περιγράφεις; ¹ τὸ δεῖν, εἰς Ἴσθμια
¹ dic. RV: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H: Θε LAld
- 880 par. R
- 881 Τρ RVLALd
- 883 ¹ ἐκείνοσὶ νεύει. ² τίς; ³ ὅστις; ⁴ Ἀριφράδης,
¹ Θε RVLALd ² dic. et par. R: dic. V: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H: Τρ LAld ³ dic. RV: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H: Θε LAld ⁴ spat. PC
- 884 ἄγειν παρ' αὐτὸν ἀντιβολῶν. ¹ ἀλλ' ὦ μέλε,
¹ dic. et par. R: dic. V: spat. PCB: dic. et spat. H: Τρ LAld
- 886 par. R
- 892 ¹ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ κεκάπνικεν ἄρ'. ² ἐνταῦθα γὰρ
¹ par. V ² dic. RV: spat. PC: dic. et spat. H
- 907 dic.* V
- 909 Xo RVPCLALd: dic.* et Xo ΓH
- 912 Τρ RVPCLALd: dic.* et Τρ ΓH
- 913 par. RV: dic.* et Xo ΓH: Xo PCLALd
- 916 dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLALd
- 917 par. V: dic.* et Xo ΓH: Xo PCLALd
- 918 par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓH: Τρ PCLALd

- 922 Θε RVPC: dic.* et Θε ΓΗ: Χο LAlD
- 923 Τρ RPCLAlD: dic.* et Τρ VΓΗ
- 924 par. RV: dic.* et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PC: Χο LAlD
- 925 par. R: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAlD
- 926 par. V: dic.* et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PC: Χο LAlD
- 927 ¹ ἄλλ' ὑὸ παχείᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ; ² μὴ μή. ³ τιή;
¹ par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAlD ² dic. RV: dic. et Θε ΓΗ:
 Θε PC: Χο LAlD: spat. B ³ dic. RV: Τρ ΓPCLAlD: dic. et Τρ H:
 spat. B
- 928 dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PC: Χο LAlD
- 929 ¹ τῷ δαὶ δοκεῖ σοι δῆτα τῶν λοιπῶν; ² οἶ.
¹ par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAlD ² dic. V: dic. et Θε ΓΗ:
 Θε PC: Χο LAlD: spat. B
- 930 ¹ οἶ; ² ναὶ μὰ Δί'. ³ ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γ' ἐστ' Ἰωνικὸν
¹ dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAlD ² par. R: dic. et Θε
 ΓΗ: Θε PC: Χο LAlD: spat. B ³ dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAlD:
 spat. B
- 931 τὸ ῥῆμ'. ¹ ἐπιτηδές γ', ἴν' <όταν> ἐν τῇ κκλησίᾳ
¹ dic. RV: dic. et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PC: Χο LAlD: spat. B
- 934 ¹ εὖ τοι λέγεις. ² καὶ τᾶλλα γ' ὥσιν ἤπιοι.
¹ dic.* VH: dic.* et Τρ Γ: Τρ PCLAlD ² dic. RV: dic. et Θε Γ: Θε
 PC: dic. et Τρ H: Χο LAlD: spat. B
- 935 dic.* Γ
- 937 dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAlD
- 939 Χο RVPCLAlD Σ^VΓ 939b: dic.* et Χο ΓΗ: Τρ Σ^V 939a
- 942 dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAlD
- 942-47 στίχος ἱαμβικὸς τετράμετρος καταληκτικὸς τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ καὶ
 ἐν εἰσθέσει <τὸ> τοῦ χοροῦ Σ^V 942a
- 943/4 Χο LAlD
- 948 Θε R: τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ (i.e. Τρ ?) Σ^V 948a
- 950 Χο R Σ^V 950a: par. V
- 956 Τρ RV
- 958 Θε R: dic.* et Θε V
- 959 par. R

- 962 καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ῥίπτε τῶν κριθῶν. ¹ ἰδοῦ.
¹ dic. V
- 963 ¹ ἔδωκας ἤδη; ² νῆ τὸν Ἑρμῆν, ὥστε γε
¹ dic.* et par. V ² dic. RV
- 966 οὐχ αἰ γυναῖκές γ' ἔλαβον. ² ἀλλ' εἰς ἐσπέραν
¹ par. V ² dic. RV
- 968 ¹ τίς τῆδε; ποῦ πότ' εἰσι ² πολλοὶ κάγαθοί;
¹ par. V ² dic. V
- 969 ¹ τοισδὶ φέρε δῶ· ² πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσι κάγαθοί.
¹ dic.* V ² dic. V
- 970 ¹ τούτους ἀγαθοὺς ἐνόμισας; ² οὐ γάρ, οἵτινες
¹ par. R: dic.* et par. V ² dic. et par. R
- 973 ἀλλ' ὥς τάχιστ' εὐχόμεθ'. ¹ εὐχόμεσθα δή.
¹ dic. V
- 974 Tp R: dic.* et Tp V
- 978 Θε R: dic.* et Θε V
- 987 Tp RV
- 1016 dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCL
- 1017 Θε RPCL: dic.* et Θε VΓΗ
- 1018 σφάξεις τὸν οἶν. ¹ ἀλλ' οὐ θέμις. ² τιῇ τί δή;
¹ dic. et par. R: dic. V: dic. et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCLald: spat. B ² dic.
et par. R: dic. V: dic. et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PCLald: spat. B
- 1019 par. R: Tp ΓPCLald: dic.* et Tp H
- 1023 Xo RVPCLald: dic.* et Xo ΓΗ
- 1026 Tp RVPCLald: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ
- 1027 Xo RVΓPCLald: dic.* et Xo H
- 1031 Tp RVPCLald: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ
- 1033 Xo RVPCL: dic.* et Xo ΓΗ
- 1039 Θε RVPCLald: dic.* et Θε ΓΗ
- 1041 Tp RPCLald: dic.* et Tp VΓΗ
- 1042 par. V: dic.* et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PCLald
- 1043 ¹ ὅπτα καλῶς νυν ταῦτα· ² καὶ γὰρ οὐτοσί
¹ par. V: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCLald ² dic. V

- 1045 ¹ τίς ἄρα πότ' ἐστίν; ² ὡς ἀλαζών φαίνεται.
¹ par. RV ² dic. et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PCLALd: spat. B
- 1046 ¹ μάντις τίς ἐστίν; ² οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' Ἱεροκλῆς
¹ par. V ² dic. et par. R: dic. V: dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd:
 spat. B
- 1047 dic.* et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PCLALd
- 1048 ¹ τί ποτ' ἄρα λέξει; ² δῆλός ἐσθ' οὐτός γ' ὅτι
¹ par. RV ² dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd: spat. B
- 1050 par. V: dic.* et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PCLALd
- 1051 ¹ μή νυν ὁρᾶν δοκῶμεν αὐτόν. ² εἰ λέγεις.
¹ par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd ² dic. V: dic. et Θε ΓΗ: Θε
 PCLALd: spat. B
- 1052 Ἱε RΓPCLALd Σ^{VT} 1052. β: dic.* et Ἱε VH
- 1053 Τρ RVPCLALd: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ
- 1054 ¹ ὅτῳ δὲ θύετ' οὐ φράσεθ'; ² ἡ κέρκος ποεῖ
¹ Ἱε RVPCLALd: dic.* et Ἱε ΓΗ ² dic. RV: dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ
 PCLALd: spat. B
- 1055 ¹ καλῶς. ² καλῶς δῆτ', ³ ὦ πότνι' Εἰρήνη φίλη.
¹ Ἱε V ² dic. et Θε RV: Θε ΓLALd: spat. B
- 1056 Ἱε RVPCLALd Σ^Γ 1056a: dic.* et Ἱε ΓΗ
- 1057 ¹ ὅπταν ἄμεινον πρῶτον. ² ἀλλὰ ταυταγί
¹ Τρ RVPCLALd: dic.* et Τρ H ² Ἱε RPCLALd: dic. et Ἱε VΓΗ:
 spat. B
- 1058 ἦδη ὅστιν ὀπτά. ¹ πολλὰ πράττεις, ὅστις εἶ.
¹ dic. V: dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd: spat. B
- 1060 ¹ ἡ γλῶττα χωρὶς τέμνεται. ² μεμνήμεθα.
¹ Ἱε RPCLALd Σ^Γ 1060a: dic.* et Ἱε VΓΗ ² dic. RV: Τρ
 ΓPCLALd: dic. et Τρ H: spat. B
- 1061 ¹ ἀλλ' οἶσθ' ὃ δρᾶσον; ² ἦν φράσης. ³ μὴ διαλέγον
¹ dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Ἱε ΓΗ: Ἱε PCLALd ² dic. V: Θε
 ΓPCLALd: dic. et Ἱε H: spat. B ³ dic. V: dic. et Τρ Γ: Τρ
 PCLALd: dic. et Θε H: spat. B
- 1063 ¹ ὦ μέλειο θνητοὶ καὶ νῆπιοι— ² ἐς κεφαλὴν σοί.
¹ Ἱε RVPCLALd Σ^{VT} 1063a: dic.* et Ἱε ΓΗ ² dic. et par. R: dic.
 V: dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd: spat. B
- 1064 par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Ἱε ΓΗ: Ἱε PCLALd

- 1066 ¹ αἰβοιβοῖ. ² τί γε λῶς; ³ ἥσθην χαροποῖσι πιθήκοις.
¹ Θε RPCLALd: dic.* et Θε VΓΗ ² dic. et Τρ RVΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd:
 spat. B ³ dic. RV: dic. et Θε ΓΗ: Θε PCLALd: spat. B
- 1067 'Ιε RVPCLALd: dic.* et 'Ιε ΓΗ
- 1068 ὦν δόλιναι ψυχαί, δόλιναι φρένες. ¹ εἴθε σοῦ εἶναι
¹ dic. RV: dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd: spat. B
- 1070 par. R: dic.* et 'Ιε VΓΗ: 'Ιε PCLALd
- 1072 par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd
- 1073 par. RV: 'Ιε ΓPCLALd: dic.* et 'Ιε H
- 1074 ἀλλὰ τό γε πρότερον — ¹ τοῖσδ' ἄλσί γε παστέα ταυτί.
¹ dic. RV: Τρ ΓPCLALd: dic. et Τρ H: spat. B
- 1076a Τρ Γ
- 1076b par. R: dic.* et par. V: vers. om. ΓPCHLBALd
- 1077 par. R: dic.* et par. V: 'Ιε Γ
- 1080 par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd
- 1083 par. R: dic.* et 'Ιε ΓΗ: 'Ιε PCLALd
- 1084 par. R: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd
- 1086 par. RV: dic.* et 'Ιε ΓΗ: 'Ιε PCLALd
- 1087 par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd
- 1088 par. RV: 'Ιε ΓPCLALd: dic.* et 'Ιε H
- 1089 par. RV: Τρ ΓPCLALd: dic.* et Τρ H
- 1095 ¹ οὐ μετέχω τούτων· ² οὐ γὰρ ταῦτ' εἶπε Σίβυλλα.
¹ par. RV: dic.* et 'Ιε ΓΗ: 'Ιε PCLALd ² dic. et par. R
- 1096 par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd
- 1099 dic.* et 'Ιε ΓΗ: 'Ιε PCLALd
- 1100 ἰκτίνος μάρπη — ¹ τουτὶ μέντοι σὺ φυλάττου,
¹ dic. et par. R: dic. V: Τρ ΓPCLALd: dic. et Τρ H: spat. B
- 1102 par. R
- 1103 par. R: dic.* et 'Ιε ΓΗ: 'Ιε PCLALd
- 1104 par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLALd
- 1105 'Ιε RVPCLALd: dic.* et 'Ιε ΓΗ

- 1106 Τρ RV ΓPCHLAld
- 1107 dic.* H
- 1109 ¹ πρόσφερε τὴν γλῶτταν. ² σὺ δὲ τὴν σαυτοῦ γ' ἀπένεγκε.
¹ 'Iε RVPCLAlD: dic.* et 'Iε ΓΗ ² par. R: dic. V: dic. et Τρ ΓΗ:
 Τρ PCLAlD: spat. B
- 1110 ¹ σπονδῇ. ² καὶ ταυτὶ μετὰ τῆς σπονδῆς λαβὲ θάττον.
¹ par. RV: dic.* et 'Iε ΓΗ: 'Iε PCLAlD ² dic. V: dic. et Τρ Γ: Τρ
 PCHLAld: spat. B
- 1111 ¹ οὐδεὶς προσδώσει [μοι] τῶν σπλάγχων; ² οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε
¹ par. RV: dic.* et 'Iε Γ: 'Iε PCHLAld ² dic. V: Τρ ΓPCHLAld:
 spat. B
- 1113 ¹ ναὶ πρὸς τῶν γονάτων. ² ἄλλως, ὦ τῶν, ἱκετεύεις.
¹ par. RV: dic.* et 'Iε ΓΗ: 'Iε PCL ² dic. RV: dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ
 PCLAlD: spat. B
- 1115 par. R
- 1116 μετὰ νῶν. ¹ τί δαὶ 'γώ; ² τὴν Σίβυλλαν ἔσθιτε.
¹ dic. et par. R: dic. V: dic. et 'Iε ΓΗ: 'Iε PCL: spat. B: 'Ερ Ald
² dic. et par. R: dic. V: dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAlD: spat. B
- 1117 par. R: dic.* et 'Iε ΓΗ: 'Iε PCLAlD
- 1119 ¹ ὦ παῖε παῖε τὸν Βάκιν. ² μαρτύρομαι.
¹ par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAlD ² dic. et par. R: dic. V:
 dic. et 'Iε ΓΗ: 'Iε PCL Σ^{VT} 1119b: spat. B: 'Ερ Ald
- 1120 Τρ RPCL: dic.* et Τρ VΓΗ: 'Iε Ald
- 1122 Θε RVPCLAlD: dic.* et Θε ΓΗ
- 1127 Χο RLAlD Σ^V 1127a: dic.* et Χο V: dic.* H
- 1140 ἔτι τοῦ χοροῦ RV: Χο LAlD
- 1159 ἐπίρρημα Χο ἀντιστροφή L
- 1172 Χο ἀντεπίρρημα L
- 1191 Τρ RVPCLAlD: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ
- 1197 ¹ ποῦ ποῦ Τρυγαῖός ἐστιν; ² ἀναβράττω κίχλας.
¹ Δρ RVPCL: dic.* et Δρ ΓΗ ² dic. V: dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCL
 Ald: spat. B
- 1198 par. RV: dic.* et Δρ ΓΗ: Δρ PCLAlD
- 1207 Τρ RVPCLAlD: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ
- 1210 Λο RPCLAlD Σ^{VT} 1210a: dic.* et Λο VΓΗ

- 1211 Τρ RVΓPCLAld: dic.* et Τρ H
- 1212 par. R: Λο VPCLAld: dic.* et Λο ΓΗ
- 1214 Τρ RΓPCLAld: dic.* et Τρ VH
- 1215 ¹ αὐτὸς σὺ τί δίδως; ² ὅ τι δίδωμ'; αἰσχύνομαι.
¹ par. RV: dic.* et Λο ΓΗ: Λο PCLAld ² dic. et par. R: dic. V:
dic. et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAld: spat. B
- 1219 par. R: dic.* et Λο ΓΗ: Λο PCLAld
- 1221 par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCLAld
- 1224 Θω RVPCLAld: dic.* et Θω ΓΗ: cf. ἄλλος ἐστὶν οὗτος ὀλοφυρό-
μενος Σ^{VI} 1224a
- 1226 Τρ RVPCLAld: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ
- 1229 par. V: dic.* et Θω ΓΗ: Θω PCL² Ald
- 1230 par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCL² Ald
- 1231 par. RV: Θω ΓPCL² Ald: dic.* et Θω H
- 1232 par. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCAld
- 1233 καὶ τῇδ'. ἅμ' ¹ ἀμφοῖν δῆτ'; ² ἔγωγε νῆ Δία,
¹ dic. RV: dic. et Θω ΓΗ: Θω PCAld: spat. L² B ² dic. V: Τρ
ΓPCAld: dic. et Τρ H: spat. L² B
- 1235 par. RV: dic.* et Θω ΓΗ: Θω PC: Θρ [sic] Ald
- 1236 par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCAld
- 1238 ¹ ἴθι δῆ, 'ξένεγκε τὰργύριον. ² ἀλλ', ὦγαθέ,
¹ dic. V: Θω ΓPCAld: dic.* et Θω H ² dic. V: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ
PCAld: spat. L² B
- 1239 θλίβει τὸν ὄρρον. ¹ ἀπόφερ', οὐκ ὠνήσομαι.
¹ dic. et par. R
- 1240 Σα RVPC: dic.* et Σα ΓΗ
- 1242 par. RV: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCAld
- 1245 ¹ οἷμοι, καταγελᾶς. ² ἀλλ' ἕτερον παραινέσω.
¹ par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Σα ΓΗ: Σα PC ² dic. RV: dic. et
Τρ ΓΗ: Τρ PCAld: spat. L² B
- 1250 Κρ RVΓPCAld: dic.* et Κρ H
- 1253 Τρ RVPCAld: dic.* et Τρ ΓΗ
- 1255 Σα RVPC: dic.* et Σα ΓΗ: Δο Ald

- 1256 ¹ οὗτος μὲν οὐ πέπονθεν οὐδέν. ² ἀλλὰ τί
¹ par. V ² dic. RV: dic. et Kp ΓΗ: Kp PCAld: spat. L² B
- 1257 dic.* et par. V: Tp Γ
- 1260 ¹ ἀπίωμεν, ὃ δορυξέ. ² μηδαμῶς γ', ἐπεὶ
¹ Kp RVPCAld: dic.* et Kp ΓΗ ² dic. RV: dic. et Tp ΓΗ: Tp
 PCAld: spat. L² B
- 1262 ¹ πόσον δίδως δῆτ'; ² εἰ διαπρισθεῖεν δίχα,
¹ dic.* et Δο ΓΗ: Δο PCAld ² dic. RV: dic. et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCAld:
 spat. L² B
- 1264 Δο RVPCAld: dic.* et Δο ΓΗ
- 1265 Tp RVPCAld: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ
- 1270 ¹ νῦν αὖθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα— ² παῦσαι
¹ Πα RVPCAld: dic.* et Πα ΓΗ ² Tp RVPCAld: dic. et Tp ΓΗ:
 spat. B
- 1273 par. V: dic.* et Πα ΓΗ: Πα PCAld
- 1275 par. RV: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCAld
- 1276 par. V: Πα ΓPCAld: dic.* et Πα Η
- 1277 par. V: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCAld
- 1279 par. RV: dic.* et Πα ΓΗ: Πα PCAld
- 1280 par. R: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCAld: vers. om. V
- 1282 par. V: dic.* et Πα ΓΗ: Πα PCAld
- 1284 par. V: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCAld
- 1286 ¹ θωρήσονται ἄρ' ἔπειτα πεπαυμένοι, — ² ἄσμενοι, οἶμαι.
¹ par. V: dic.* et Πα ΓΗ: Πα PCAld ² dic. RV: dic. et Tp ΓΗ: Tp
 PCAld: spat. B
- 1287 par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Πα ΓΗ: Πα PCAld
- 1288 par. R: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCAld
- 1290 ¹ ἐγώ; ² σὺ μέντοι νῆ Δί'. ³ υἱὸς Λαμάχου.
¹ par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Πα ΓΗ: Πα PCAld ² dic. et par.
 R: dic. V: Tp ΓPCAld: dic. et Tp Η: spat. B ³ dic. et par. R: dic.
 V: Πα ΓPCAld: dic.* et Πα Η: spat. B
- 1291 par. R: dic.* et par. V: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PCAld
- 1298 Πα Κλ ΓCHAld: Πα ωνύμου [sic] P
- 1300 par. RV: dic.* et Tp ΓΗ: Tp PC: Πα Ald

- 1301 ¹ ψυχὴν δ' ἐξεσάωσα — ² κατήσχυνας δὲ τοκῆας.
¹ par. RV: dic.* et Πα H: Τρ Ald ² dic. V: spat. PC: dic. et Τρ
H: Τρ Ald
- 1305 dic.* H
- 1313 Xo RV: dic.* H
- 1317 Τρ RV
- 1318 Ἕμιχ RV: dic.* H
- 1331 dic.* P.Oxy. 1373: Τρ RV
- 1334 dic.* P.Oxy. 1373: Ἕμιχ RV, cf. Σ^V 1335 [1338] ἐν τούτοις
φέρονται κατὰ τινὰς παράγραφοι, ἵνα ὁ χορὸς ἀνὰ μέρος αὐτὰ
λέγει: dic.* H
- 1336 ἄλλος Ἕμιχ RV: Xo Σ^V 1333 [1336]
- 1338 par. R: dic.* VH
- 1339 par. V: dic.* H
- 1340 dic. et par. V
- 1341 par. V
- 1342 par. V: dic.* H
- 1343 dic.* VH
- 1344 par. V: dic.* H: Xo Σ^V 1340 [1344]
- 1347 par. V
- 1348 dic.* V
- 1354 par. V
- 1357 par. V: dic.* H
- 1359 par. V
- 1360 dic.* V
- 1361 Τρ RV
- 1363 Xo RV
- 1365 Τρ RV
- 1367 πλακοῦντας ἔδεσθε. ¹
¹ dic. V: dic. et par. H

Plato and Euripides

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When we try to make sense of the intellectual milieu in which Plato grew up, we tend to think primarily in terms of the philosophers¹ who influenced the development of his thought. Clearly it is impossible to come to terms with the philosophy of Plato without reading the dialogues as themselves part of a dialogue involving such antecedents as Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Parmenides and, of course, Socrates. But we do Plato a great disservice if we concentrate exclusively on the philosophical influences. In the first place, by doing so we are introducing an anachronistic categorization of intellectual pursuits: After all, Parmenides, Empedocles and Xenophanes were themselves poets as well as philosophers, and no Greek philosopher—indeed no Greek writer—can be imagined who was not influenced by the poems of Homer, Hesiod and Pindar. In the second place, Plato was himself a literary artist of the highest accomplishment, and we cannot doubt that his artistry—that is to say, in effect, his philosophy—has literary, as well as philosophical, roots. There has, it is true, been some important work done in which the influence of some of Plato's literary predecessors has been fruitfully examined.² And, in particular, the importance of the dramatists has been recognized and studied, especially in connection with Plato's attacks on dramatic poetry and his use of the dialogue-form.³ But the virulence of those attacks, combined with the masterful adaptation of what is in effect a dramatic form, give clear evidence that Plato's attitude toward his dramatic predecessors was complex, ambivalent, interesting and well worth further study.

¹ "Philosophers" here should be taken to include figures like Protagoras and Gorgias, who are more often referred to as "Sophists." But the fact that we are sometimes reluctant to think of them as philosophers is in part because of the influence of Plato himself.

² See, for example, E. des Places, *Pindare et Platon* (Paris 1949); J. Labarbe, *L'Homère de Platon* (Liège 1949); P. Vicaire, *Platon critique littéraire* (Paris 1960). Particularly intriguing is A. W. Nightingale's recent study, *Genres in Dialogue: Plato and the Construct of Philosophy* (Cambridge 1995), in which Plato's intertextual relationship with representatives of various genres, including both tragedy and comedy, is explored.

³ For Plato's criticism of dramatic poetry, see most recently C. Janaway, *Images of Excellence: Plato's Critique of the Arts* (Oxford 1995), with bibliography of earlier work; for Plato's use of the dialogue-form, see J. Laborde, *Le dialogue platonicien de la maturité* (Paris 1978) and D. Clay, "The Origins of the Socratic Dialogue," in P. A. Vander Waerdt (ed.), *The Socratic Movement* (Ithaca 1994) 23–47.

As far as we can tell, Plato was born, presumably in Athens, in 428/7 B.C.⁴ The family to which he belonged was one of the most distinguished in the city. He was descended on his father's side from Codrus, the last king of Athens. His mother traced her ancestry to the lawgiver (and poet) Solon, who, as G. C. Field puts it,⁵ "as an ancestor, if some centuries later than Codrus, had at least the advantage of having really existed." But distinction is conferred as much according to perception as according to reality, and we can be confident that Plato's maternal grandparents were every bit as satisfied as was his father's family with the marriage that was to produce Greece's greatest philosopher and foremost prose stylist. Plato's family also boasted (if that is the right word) Charmides and Critias, both of whom were members of the notorious Thirty, who established a short-lived tyranny at Athens in 404 B.C.⁶

It is clear from the situation depicted in Plato's *Symposium* that the circles in which Plato travelled included people who regularly attended performances in the Theater of Dionysus. Indeed, two of the interlocutors in that dialogue, Agathon and Aristophanes, were themselves men of the theater.⁷ Further, Plato's own interest in and familiarity with the drama are apparent from the references in his works to the fifth-century tragedians and, more importantly, from his frequent use of images, similes and metaphors drawn from the stage.⁸ It is likely that this familiarity with the theater dates from quite early in Plato's life, for it seems to have been the regular custom in Athens for boys to attend dramatic performances. According to W. L. Newman, "It appears to be certain that boys were present at representations both of tragedy and of comedy at Athens," and Arthur Pickard-Cambridge says, "That there were boys [in the audience for tragedy and comedy], there can be no doubt at all."⁹ In fact, it seems even

⁴ For the evidence for the date, see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford 1971) 333. The (less likely) alternative is a year or two earlier. According to Diogenes Laertius (3. 3), some authorities put Plato's place of birth in Aegina.

⁵ G. C. Field, *Plato and his Contemporaries: A Study in Fourth-Century Life and Thought*, 2nd ed. (London 1948) 4.

⁶ For the details of Plato's family, see Davies (above, note 4) 322–35. We may note that, in addition to his other talents, Critias was a tragic poet.

⁷ For the (generally high) social status of dramatic poets in the fifth century, see J. R. Green, *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society* (London 1994) 12–13. L. A. Stella, "Influssi di poesia e d'arte ellenica nell'opera di Platone: Platone ed il teatro greco II. Platone e la tragedia," *Historia* 7 (1933) 75–123, at 80 notes that the circle of Socrates' friends included Agathon, Alcibiades and Critias, who were in various ways connected with, or influenced by, Euripides.

⁸ See D. Tarrant, "Plato as Dramatist," *JHS* 75 (1955) 82–89, esp. 82–83. The only evidence that explicitly connects Plato with the theater is the report of his choregeia, subsidized by Dion of Syracuse, for a performance of a boys' dithyramb; see Plut. *Arist.* 1. 4, *Dion* 17. 5, *D.L.* 3. 3.

⁹ W. L. Newman (ed.), *The Politics of Aristotle III* (Oxford 1902) 493, on *Pol.* 1336b20; A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1968) 263. The evidence includes *Ar. Nub.* 539, *Pax* 50, 766, *Eccl.* 1146 (μειράκιον, παιδίσκον), *Eupolis* fr. 261 K–A, *Isaeus* 8. 15–16, *Pl. Gorg.* 502d, *Lg.* 658b–d, 817c, *Arist. Pol.* 1336b20, *Thphr. Char.* 9. 5, 30. 6.

to have been acceptable for boys to perform on the stage.¹⁰ So we have every reason to believe that Plato's experiences during his impressionable and formative years included attendance at the tragedies and comedies that were performed regularly at Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

And the figure who dominated the Athenian stage during this period was the controversial dramatist Euripides. Indeed, Plato's lifetime falls entirely within the period during which the popularity of Euripides was unrivaled, as we can tell from the frequency with which his plays were performed, both in Athens and throughout the Greek world, from the influence that he exerted on contemporary literature and from the large number of representations of scenes from his plays in contemporary vase-painting.¹¹ Under these circumstances, Plato cannot have helped but be familiar with Euripides' dramas. And, indeed, we know from a number of references to and quotations from the plays of Euripides in Plato's dialogues that the philosopher had considerable acquaintance with the works of the dramatist.¹² This acquaintance presumably resulted both from familiarity with written texts¹³ and from witnessing performances of Euripides' plays, either when the plays were first performed in the Theater of Dionysus or in their numerous revivals, both in Athens and in Magna Graecia,¹⁴ throughout Plato's lifetime. But the greatest impression must have been made on Plato (as on the Attic audience in general) when these revolutionary works were produced for the first time. Plato's earliest experiences with the theater are likely to have included attendance at the first production of Euripides' disturbing Trojan trilogy—*Alexandros*, *Palamedes* and *Trojan Women*—

¹⁰ See C. Haym, *De puerorum in re scaenica Graecorum partibus* (diss. Halle 1897); Pickard-Cambridge (previous note) 144; P. T. Stevens (ed.), *Euripides. Andromache* (Oxford 1971) 159, on 504 ff.; C. Collard (ed.), *Euripides. Supplices* (Groningen 1975) I 19; H.-D. Blume, *Einführung in das antike Theaterwesen* (Darmstadt 1978) 87–88; M. Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore 1990) 44–46; C. F. Russo, *Aristophanes: An Author for the Stage*, trsl. by K. Wren (London 1994) 145–46, 261 n. 4.

¹¹ See G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Studies in Fourth-Century Tragedy* (Athens 1980) 28–34. As P. E. Easterling says ("The End of an Era? Tragedy in the Early Fourth Century," in A. H. Sommerstein et al. [eds.], *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis* [Bari 1993] 567): "The more open we are to the idea that intertextual reference is a major feature of all the Greek tragedy we know, and not a symptom of *fin-de-siècle* fatigue, the readier we should be to look at the extreme popularity of Euripides in the fourth century in the context of the formation of the repertoire. It was his plays, now, which formed the main body of works in the light of which, and in reaction to which, contemporary dramatists conducted their own experiments."

¹² See F. L. Lucas, *Euripides and his Influence* (London 1923) 47–49; Vicaire (above, note 2) 168–76; Stella (above, note 7); H. Funke, "Euripides," *JbAC* 8/9 (1965/66) 235–36; L. Brundwood, *A Word Index to Plato* (Leeds 1976) 991–1003.

¹³ Already in 405 B.C. Aristophanes (*Ran.* 52–53) could represent Dionysus as reading a text of one of Euripides' plays. For the availability of books in the fifth and fourth centuries, see R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford 1968) 25 ff.

¹⁴ For the popularity of Attic tragedy and comedy in general in the Greek cities of Sicily and South Italy, particularly during the period from 425 to 325 B.C., see O. Taplin, *Comic Angels and Other Approaches to Greek Drama through Vase-Paintings* (Oxford 1993). For Plato's visits to Sicily, see K. von Fritz, *Platon in Sizilien und das Problem der Philosophenherrschaft* (Berlin 1968).

when he was about twelve years old. Plato was already fifteen when the curious and memorable *Andromeda* and *Helen* were staged in 412 B.C. *Ion*, *Heracles*, *Phoenissae* and *Iphigenia among the Taurians* all belong to approximately the same period. We can only imagine the effect that the nihilistic *Orestes* had on the brilliant and sensitive nineteen-year-old. By the time Euripides' last plays were performed—*Bacchae* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*—Plato was already in his twenties.

No one in his audience seems to have been able to remain indifferent to Euripides' tragedies. The evidence of Aristophanes alone is sufficient to show that Euripides provoked strong reactions, one way and the other: In *Thesmophoriazusae* the women of Athens are plotting to murder him; in *Frogs* no less than the god of the theater himself feels such a passionate longing¹⁵ for the deceased tragedian that he risks the dangers of a journey to the underworld in order to bring him back to life. There is a striking parallel to this phenomenon in the remarkable ambivalence that greeted the music-dramas of Richard Wagner in the second half of the nineteenth century. Wagner's operas (and the composer's personal behavior) outraged popular opinion,¹⁶ in some cases for the same reasons that the plays of Euripides caused such a stir in fifth-century Athens. Nineteenth-century audiences, for example, were shocked by the sensuous chromaticism of the new music, as well as by the immorality of the blatant adultery of Tristan and Isolde and the titillating incest of Siegmund and Sieglinde. Likewise, Athenian audiences of the end of the fifth century were scandalized by the morally suspect new music of Euripides and Timotheus,¹⁷ and by the sympathetic treatment of adulterous passion and incest in plays like *Hippolytus* and *Aeolus*.¹⁸ But at the same time, both Wagner and Euripides attracted devoted admirers from among the leading artists and intellectuals of their day. We noted above Aristophanes' depiction of Dionysus' passionate reaction to Euripides, a reaction that is surely modeled on that of some of Aristophanes' contemporaries. In remarkably similar terms, Bruno Walter describes in his autobiography his own introduction to Wagner's music:¹⁹

¹⁵ Ar. *Ran.* 53, 55, 66 (νόθος), 59 (ἕμερος). Dionysus' longing is provoked by reading Euripides' *Andromeda*. Compare also the anecdote, recorded in Luc. *Hist. Conscr.* 1, according to which a mysterious ailment afflicted the citizens of Abdera as a result of a performance of Euripides' *Andromeda* by the actor Archelaos, one symptom of which was the obsessive recitation of verses from that play.

¹⁶ See, for example, the caricatures, from the popular press and elsewhere, reproduced in H. Barth et al. (eds.), *Wagner: A Documentary Study* (New York 1975) plates 40, 149, 165, 227–29 and p. 228.

¹⁷ For the "New Music" of the late fifth century, see J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama: Early Tragedy and the Greek Poetic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985) 105–09; G. Comotti, *Music in Greek and Roman Culture*, trsl. by R. V. Munson (Baltimore 1989) 34–40; M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992) 356–68 and 369–72 ("Resistance to the New Music").

¹⁸ See Ar. *Nub.* 1371–72, *Ran.* 850, 1043–44, 1081.

¹⁹ B. Walter, *Theme and Variations: An Autobiography*, trsl. by J. A. Galston (New York 1946) 39–40. The context makes it clear that Walter's passion was in direct conflict with the

... another event pierced my soul with the rapidity and force of a bolt of lightning. It set me aflame and wholly revolutionized my inward life. The event was a performance of *Tristan und Isolde*, the consequence "heaven-born enravishment." ... There I sat in the topmost gallery of the Berlin Operahouse, and from the first sound of the cellos my heart contracted spasmodically. The magic, like the terrible potion that the deathly ill Tristan curses in the third act, "burst raging forth from heart to brain." Never before had my soul been so deluged with floods of sound and passion, never had my heart been consumed by such yearning and sublime blissfulness, never had I been transported from reality by such heavenly glory. I was no longer in this world. After the performance, I roamed the streets aimlessly.

In fact, in the case of Wagner, we can find both reactions, positive and negative, in the same person. Friedrich Nietzsche himself exemplifies the powerfully ambivalent feelings that this innovative and controversial figure could arouse: Nietzsche began as an ardent supporter of Wagner (and one of his closest friends), but he ended up by writing a pamphlet in which he accused the composer of destroying contemporary music, just as he had earlier accused Euripides of having destroyed Greek tragedy.²⁰ I would not wish to press the parallel between Wagner and Euripides too far, and I do not wish to suggest too close a parallel in these terms between Nietzsche and Plato.²¹ But I would go so far as to say that, just as it is unthinkable for an intelligent artist growing up in late nineteenth-century Europe to be unaffected by the phenomenon of Richard Wagner, so it is unimaginable

"deep-rooted antagonism to Wagner at the [Stern] Conservatory, at my parents' house, and among the people with whom I associated" (39).

²⁰ In *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, in which he had glorified Wagner for having revived the spirit of Greek tragedy; cf. M. S. Silk and J. P. Stern, *Nietzsche on Tragedy* (Cambridge 1981); A. Henrichs, "The Last of the Detractors: Nietzsche's Condemnation of Euripides," *GRBS* 27 (1986) 369–97. R. Friedrich, "Euripidaristophanizein und Nietzschesokratizein: Aristophanes, Nietzsche, and the Death of Tragedy," *Dionysius* 4 (1980) 5–36 notes the similarity between Nietzsche's ambivalence toward Socrates and Aristophanes' ambivalence toward Euripides. For the complex relationship between Nietzsche and Wagner, see D. Fischer-Dieskau, *Wagner and Nietzsche*, trsl. by J. Neugroschel (New York 1976). We can see a similarly ambivalent attitude toward Wagner somewhat later in the case of Claude Debussy. Debussy too started out as an ardent Wagnerite, describing *Parsifal* as "l'un des plus beaux monuments sonores que l'on ait élevés à la gloire imperturbable de la musique" (quoted by F. Lesure, *Claude Debussy: Biographie critique* [Paris 1994] 448), but by the time he came to compose *Pelléas et Mélisande* he intended it to be an anti-Wagnerian opera. (Of course, in the case of Debussy, in addition to the expected "anxiety of influence," there is also a potent extra-musical factor, namely the antipathy of the French toward the Germans, especially in the early part of this century; note Debussy's delight, expressed in a letter written in 1914, at the discovery of Beethoven's Flemish ancestry: F. Lesure [ed.], *Claude Debussy. Lettres 1884–1918* [Paris 1980] 257.) But *Pelléas*, like most of Debussy's oeuvre, is unimaginable without the influence of *Parsifal* and *Tristan*. Indeed, Robin Holloway says of Debussy—and he repeats his assertion—that "he must be recognized to be, within the limits of a subtle and specialized relationship, the most profoundly Wagnerian of all composers" (*Debussy and Wagner* [London 1979] 21, 235).

²¹ Note, however, the brief article by L. Chamberlain, "Why Nietzsche Banished Wagner," *TLS* (4 Nov. 1994) 20, with its title drawn from the subtitle of Iris Murdoch's *The Fire and the Sun: Why Plato Banished the Artists* (Oxford 1977).

that the young Plato can have been indifferent to the dramas of Euripides. And yet, this has only rarely been pointed out. The most valuable discussion known to me of the formative influences on the young Plato is to be found in the opening pages of Wilamowitz's *Platon*. Wilamowitz, almost alone among scholars, recognized the importance of Euripides in this connection, and he devoted a couple of penetrating and suggestive pages to the influence of Euripides on Plato, concluding with the remark: "Wer den Bildungsgang eines athenischen Jünglings jener Jahre schildern will, darf über den gewerbmäßigen Lehrern [i.e. the Sophists] den Philosophen der Bühne nicht vergessen."²²

It is surprising, given the influence of Wilamowitz and the importance of his book on Plato, that Euripides, "The Philosopher of the Stage," has been largely forgotten by those who have tried to describe the development of Plato's art and thought.²³ In fact, the standard literature (of which there is a great deal) on Plato, on Euripides and on the history of Greek literature either ignores completely or merely mentions in passing the influence of Euripides on Plato. For example, W. K. C. Guthrie's *History of Greek Philosophy*, which devotes two large volumes to Plato and which discusses in detail the background to Plato's thought and writing, barely mentions Euripides. The same is true of G. M. A. Grube's *Plato's Thought*, which is all the more surprising given the fact that Grube was also an expert in the works of the playwright and is the author of a book entitled *The Drama of Euripides*. Euripides is not even listed in the General Index to G. C. Field's *Plato and his Contemporaries*, which is specifically concerned to define the social and intellectual milieu which Plato inhabited.²⁴ F. L. Lucas devotes an unsatisfactory page and a half to Plato in his *Euripides and his Influence*.²⁵ And Helmut Kuhn, in a ninety-page article that stretches over two issues of *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* and is promisingly entitled "The True Tragedy: On the Relationship between Greek Tragedy and Plato," confines himself almost entirely to Aeschylus and Sophocles,²⁶

²² U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Platon* (Berlin 1919) I 89. "Der Philosoph der Bühne" is a quotation from Athenaeus 561a, where Euripides is referred to as ὁ σκηνικὸς φιλόσοφος.

²³ But note the valuable discussion by F. Solmsen, *Plato's Theology* (Ithaca 1942) 15–59. (Solmsen had been a pupil, in Berlin, of Wilamowitz and of Wilamowitz' pupil and successor, Werner Jaeger.) His sensitive and subtle treatment is, however, concerned solely with the development of Plato's thought concerning religion, and he takes Euripides, not so much as a direct influence on the young Plato, but as a representative of the intellectual turmoil that characterized the period of Plato's youth; cf. the comment (58 n. 12): "In matters of religion, no less than in political and social questions, Euripides' mind was open to any and every new theory, but his work as a whole reflects not a new religion or a new philosophy, but rather the desire for one."

²⁴ Field does, however, quote from Eur. *Hec.* on p. 82 and mentions Euripides, along with Sophocles and Aristophanes, on p. 107.

²⁵ Lucas (above, note 12).

²⁶ *HSCP* 52 (1941) 1–40 and 53 (1942) 37–88. (The quotation in the text is taken from p. 5.) Cf. also M. Nussbaum's *The Fragility of Goodness* (Cambridge 1986), where the discussion of Plato and tragedy follows chapters on Aeschylus and Sophocles, while Euripides is reserved for the final chapter.

on the grounds that Euripidean tragedy "raises special problems which, for our present purpose, may be disregarded"!

There is, in fact, a good deal of evidence for the influence of Euripides on Plato. For one thing, there are several places in the dialogues where Plato alludes to, or explicitly quotes from the works of Euripides. Indeed, Plato cites Euripides as often as he cites Aeschylus and Sophocles combined, and he cites Euripides more often than *any* author except Homer and Simonides.²⁷ But there is more to this influence than the occasional ornamentation of polite conversation with poetic tags from a popular dramatist. Jacqueline de Romilly, in an oral presentation given in 1983, the text of which has only recently been published, suggestively sketched some ways in which the thinking of Plato, concerning such matters as psychology, ethics and politics, can be seen as taking shape under the influence of the drama of Euripides.²⁸ At about the same time, Mme de Romilly also published a brief article in which she showed that some of the issues raised in Euripides' *Phoenissae* were taken up subsequently by Plato and treated in various dialogues in an appropriately "philosophical" and theoretical manner.²⁹ Implicit in the former, however, and explicit in the latter is the assumption that Euripides is representative of the Athenian intelligentsia of the waning years of the fifth century.³⁰ It is interesting to note how far scholarly opinion has changed from the early 1940s: Euripides had to be excluded from Helmut Kuhn's study of Plato and Greek tragedy because of his eccentricity;³¹ by the early 1980s he had become the spokesman for his age. But the issue is not the extent of Euripides' originality, or the degree to which he reflects the concerns of his generation. Rather, the question we are here concerned with is whether we can find direct evidence of the influence of Euripides' dramas on the writings of Plato, regardless of the specific characteristics of those dramas. In fact, Andrea Nightingale has recently shown, for example, that the relationship between Plato's *Gorgias*

²⁷ For a list of Plato's citations, see Brandwood (above, note 12), as well as the Appendix below. D. Tarrant's figures for Plato's "identifiable quotations from the dramatists" ("Plato's Use of Quotations and other Illustrative Material," *CQ* 1 [1951] 59–67, at 61) are seriously deficient. That the largest number of citations is from Homer is, of course, only to be expected; cf. Labarbe (above, note 2). The frequency of citations from Simonides is accounted for by the extended citations in the *Protagoras*.

²⁸ J. de Romilly, "Euripide et les philosophes du IV^e siècle," in *Tragédies grecques au fil des ans* (Paris 1995) 191–205. The oral presentation, delivered on 17 October 1983 at the Institut des Hautes Études de Belgique, was entitled "Des réflexions d'Euripide à la pensée de Platon." Independently of Mme de Romilly, and at about the same time, I myself wrote, "One can almost read Plato's dialogues as an attempt to answer the metaphysical, epistemological and ethical questions raised by Euripides' dramas" ("Language, Meaning and Reality in Euripides," *Ultimate Reality and Meaning* 8 [1985] 101).

²⁹ J. de Romilly, "D'Euripide à Platon: L'exemple des *Phéniciennes*," *Estudios Clásicos* 26 (1984) 259–65.

³⁰ See de Romilly (previous note) 263: "Naturellement—et j'insiste sur ce point—je ne prétends nullement que Platon se soit ici, en fait, inspiré d'Euripide. D'autres avaient à coup sûr exprimé des idées voisines (Aristophane et Thucydide en sont la preuve)."

³¹ But note what is said above (note 23) concerning Solmsen's book of 1942.

and Euripides' *Antiope*, which the dialogue quotes and refers to on several occasions, is much more far-reaching than had previously been thought.³² She argues convincingly that, in composing the *Gorgias*, "Plato deliberately appropriated fundamental thematic and structural elements from the *Antiope*" (122) and she uses the relationship between Plato's dialogue and Euripides' drama as the basis for a sensitive examination of the way in which Plato constitutes the dialogue as a genre. This is a more satisfactory and, I think, a more valuable pursuit. In what follows, I should like to furnish some further examples of the ways in which the influence of Euripides seems to have made itself felt at crucial points in the dialogues and consequently, perhaps, at crucial points in Plato's thinking.

Our first example comes from the *Theaetetus*. A good deal of that dialogue is taken up with arguing against Protagoras' doctrine that man is the measure of all things, a doctrine that appears to exclude the possibility of false opinion. Socrates and his interlocutor, Theaetetus, attempt at considerable length to demonstrate the proposition that false opinion is possible, a proposition that is surprisingly difficult to substantiate, despite the ready appeal to common experience. Theaetetus offers a helpful suggestion and says (191b) that it occasionally happens that he sees a person at a distance whom he takes to be Socrates but who, it turns out, is in fact someone whom he does not know at all. In order to account for what exactly is going on in a case like this, Socrates comes up with an image that has since become quite famous,³³ the image of the Wax-Tablet. Let us imagine, suggests Socrates, that our mind contains a block of wax, and that memory is in effect the retention of the impressions made in this block of wax by perceptions and other phenomena that impinge upon our consciousness. Individual recollections vary depending upon the strength of the impressions made and also upon the quality of the specific memory-apparatus involved, inasmuch as different people have more or less retentive waxy blocks. The virtue of this image is that it makes it possible to account for false opinion—or, at least, for certain types of false opinion. Socrates goes on to give an example of what he means:³⁴

³² A. W. Nightingale, "Plato's *Gorgias* and Euripides' *Antiope*: A Study in Generic Transformation," *CA* 11 (1992) 121–41; cf. also R. B. Rutherford, *The Art of Plato: Ten Essays in Platonic Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA 1995) 166–68. A "substantially revised" version of Nightingale's article appears as part of chapter 2 of her *Genres in Dialogue* (above, note 2). Nightingale (121 n. 2; also 69 n. 27 and p. 73 of *Genres in Dialogue*) approves the dating of Euripides' play to approximately 408 B.C. But this dating cannot be upheld in light of M. Cropp and G. Fick, *Resolutions and Chronology in Euripides: The Fragmentary Tragedies*, BICS Suppl. 43 (London 1985) 75–76, who provide good reason to believe that *Antiope* cannot be as late as 408 and who argue for some time between 427 and 419. It is likely, therefore, that Plato's acquaintance with Euripides' play derives not from his having been present at its first performance but either from subsequent stage productions or from the written text of the play.

³³ See M. Burnyeat, *The Theaetetus of Plato* (Indianapolis 1990) 100–101.

³⁴ *Th.* 193b10–c6. The translation is that of M. J. Levett, as revised by M. Burnyeat, reprinted in Burnyeat (previous note).

I know both you and Theodorus; I have your signs upon that block of wax, like the imprints of rings. Then I see you both in the distance, but cannot see you well enough; but I am in a hurry to refer the proper sign to the proper visual perception, and so get this fitted into the trace of itself (ἐμβιβάσας προσαρμόσαι εἰς τὸ ἐαυτῆς ἵχνος), that recognition (ἀναγνώρισις) may take place. This I fail to do; I get them out of line, applying the visual perception of the one to the sign of the other.

Now, the word ἀναγνώρισις is by no means common in classical Greek. In fact, it occurs in the surviving work of only two authors from before the time of Philo of Alexandria, namely Plato and Aristotle. This is the only place in Plato where it occurs. In Aristotle it occurs some eighteen times, once in the *Eudemian Ethics* (1237a25) and seventeen times in the *Poetics*. Aristotle's use of this word in the *Poetics* is, of course, familiar. He uses it to refer to the recognition of one person in a tragedy by another.³⁵ And this, along with the words ἐμβιβάσας προσαρμόσαι εἰς τὸ ἐαυτῆς ἵχνος, led Lewis Campbell, in his commentary on the *Theaetetus*, to say: "These words . . . suggest an allusion to Choeph. 203–210." And Francis Cornford agrees. In his translation of the dialogue, he appends a footnote to this passage in which he says: "An allusion to the recognition of Orestes by his footmark tallying with his sister Electra's, Aeschylus, *Choephori*, 205 ff."³⁶ And we would be justified in seeing an allusion here to Aeschylus' recognition-scene if there were verbal parallels between this passage and the passage in *Choephori*—there are none—and if there were not a similar recognition-scene in Euripides' *Electra*.³⁷ In fact, the scene in Euripides' play, which has some fun with the old-fashioned naïveté of Aeschylus' version, is a much more likely candidate for allusion in Plato's dialogue.

In Euripides' *Electra*, the Old Man arrives on the scene in an excited state. He has been to Agamemnon's tomb and has seen that offerings, including a lock of hair, have been left for the dead king. He hopes that Orestes has returned from exile, and he suggests that Electra go and

³⁵ See especially *Poet.* 1452a29 ff. It is curious that, in his commentary on this passage, Robortello gives the following hypothetical example of what Aristotle means by "recognition" (F. Robortello, *In librum Aristotelis de arte poetica explicationes* [Florence 1548; repr. Munich 1968] 108): "Sciebam ego Socratem habere naevum in pectore, & cicatricem in crure, sed tamen ignorabam hunc esse Socratem, quo cum loquebar, antequam vidissem naevum, & cicatricem." The scar on the leg is clearly a reminiscence of the Homeric Odysseus (mentioned by Aristotle at *Poet.* 1454b26–27), and the birthmark on the chest is, I think, from Boccaccio's *Decameron* (the seventh story of the fifth day). But where did "Socrates" come from? I wonder if Robortello was thinking of our passage in the *Theaetetus*. Note that the young man who is recognized by the birthmark on his chest in Boccaccio is named Teodoro, and Socrates is here speaking of mistaking Theaetetus for Theodorus.

³⁶ F. M. Cornford, *Plato's Theory of Knowledge* (London 1935) 124 n. 1.

³⁷ Tarrant (above, note 8) 83 notes that this passage in *Thi.* "clearly implies reference to an actual incident in an identifiable play" and compares both A. *Choe.* 203–10 and Eur. *El.* 532–33. This is unsatisfactory: Either there is "reference to an actual incident in an identifiable play," in which case we must identify the incident and the play, or there is merely a general reference to drama, in which case we must assume (most improbably) that recognitions were routinely carried out in the theater by having one character step into the footprints of another.

compare the hair left at the tomb with her own. Electra ridicules the suggestion, saying that there is no reason to suppose that the hair of a brother and a sister will match. After all, the man's hair will be coarse and dry from exercise in the open air, while the woman's will be delicate as a result of the woman's indoor life and from frequent combing. Undaunted, and blinded by hope, the Old Man next proposes that Electra compare her footprints with those of the person who has left the offerings (532–37):

Πρ.	σὺ δ' εἰς ἵχνος βᾶσ' ἀρβύλης σκέψαι βάσιν εἰ σύμμετρος σὺ ποδὶ γενήσεται, τέκνον.	
Ηλ.	πῶς δ' ἂν γένοιτ' ἂν ἐν κραταιλέῳ πέδῳ γαίας ποδῶν ἔκμακτρον; εἰ δ' ἔστιν τόδε, δυοῖν ἀδελφοῖν ποὺς ἂν οὐ γένοιτ' ἴσος ἀνδρός τε καὶ γυναικός, ἀλλ' ἄρσιν κρατεῖ.	535

To begin with, there is here a verbal echo that is missing from the Aeschylean recognition-scene. Compare Socrates' ἐμβιβάσας προσαρμόσαι εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῆς ἵχνος with the Old Man's σὺ δ' εἰς ἵχνος βᾶσ'. But of greater importance is the fact that the passage in the *Theaetetus* is concerned with the problem of *false* opinion. Plato's purpose in introducing the wax-tablet image was to suggest a model for the mechanism of misperception. And an important aspect of that model had to do with the degree to which the individual wax-tablet is capable of receiving impressions. Here is how Socrates had introduced the image, two pages before the passage quoted above:³⁸

Now I want you to suppose, for the sake of argument, that we have in our souls a block of wax,³⁹ larger in one person, smaller in another, and of purer wax in one case, dirtier in another; in some men rather hard, in others rather soft . . . We may look upon it, then, as a gift of Memory, the mother of the Muses. We make impressions upon this of everything we wish to remember among the things we have seen or heard or thought of ourselves; we hold the wax under our perceptions and thoughts and take a stamp from them, in the way in which we take the imprints of signet rings.⁴⁰ Whatever is impressed upon the wax we remember and know so long as the image remains in the wax; whatever is obliterated or cannot be impressed (ὃ δ' ἂν . . . μὴ οἶόν τε γένηται ἐκμαγῆναι), we forget and do not know.

And this is just the point that the sceptical Electra is making, in criticizing the Old Man and, through him, Euripides' predecessor, Aeschylus. The ground in the vicinity of Agamemnon's tomb, she implies,

³⁸ *Tht.* 191c8–e1. Again, the translation is that of M. J. Levett (see above, note 34).

³⁹ *Tht.* 191c9 κήρινον ἐκμαγεῖον; compare ἔκμακτρον, *Eur. El.* 535.

⁴⁰ Ὡςπερ δακτυλίων σημεῖα; cf. 193c1 (translated above) ὥσπερ δακτυλίων . . . τὰ σημεῖα. I wonder if Plato's repeated reference to signet rings in this context was prompted, in part, by a recollection of the recognition-scene in the Electra-play of *Sophocles*; cf. *Soph. El.* 1222–23 τήνδε προσβλέψασά μου / σφραγίδα πατρὸς ἔκμαθ' εἰ σαφὴ λέγω.

is hard and rocky. She even uses an Aeschylean word (κραταίλεως) to describe it.⁴¹ Therefore, even if there *are* footprints (which Electra doubts) the chances of mistaken identification are great.⁴² In Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*, on the contrary, Electra actually *sees* the footprints, and affirms that they are similar (206 ὁμοῖοι) to her own. She makes the match that Euripides' Electra, and Plato's Socrates, think is difficult, if not impossible. And it is for this reason clear that Plato had in mind Euripides' play, rather than Aeschylus', when he devised his striking image of the wax-tablet. I should point out that, as usual, the last laugh is had by Euripides, the ποιητὴς σοφός. For Electra is wrong: Regardless of whether there are clear and distinct footprints in the rocky ground, and regardless of whether any such footprints match Electra's own feet, Orestes *has* in fact returned and has left an offering at the tomb.⁴³ But this, of course, only serves to confirm the view expressed by Socrates, that false opinion is possible, perhaps even inevitable.

Let me append here a very tentative and speculative suggestion. It is clear from *Apology* 19c and *Symposium* 221b that Plato was quite familiar with Aristophanes' *Clouds*.⁴⁴ In that play, "Socrates" is said (149–52) to measure the distance of a flea's jump by making an impression in wax of the flea's feet. The combination of Socrates, wax and footprints both here and in the passage from *Theaetetus* seems too much to be coincidental. When we add to this the fact that elsewhere in *Clouds* Electra's recognition of her brother is mentioned,⁴⁵ the possibility suggests itself that Aristophanes' comedy should join the inventory of literary influences on Plato's image of the wax-tablet. One can imagine that Plato, wishing to defend his beloved teacher against Aristophanes' imputations of silliness and triviality, has deliberately transmuted the comic Socrates' bathetic use of waxen impressions into an impressively profound metaphor for intellectual activity. And we may catch sight of Plato doing the same sort of

⁴¹ It has been suggested that the word κραταίλεως, which is attested only here and in Aeschylus (Ag. 666 and fr. 167 Radt, although the latter is not certainly Aeschylean), probably occurred in that portion of the prologue to *Choephoroi* that has not survived: J. Jouanna, in *Mélanges offerts à Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Dakar 1977) 198, and M. L. West, *BICS* 27 (1980) 20–21. I continue to find the suggestion attractive, despite the objections expressed by V. Di Benedetto, *Hermes* 121 (1993) 30–31.

⁴² I wonder if it is possible that, in addition to the intertextual relationship that this passage has with the *Choephoroi*, Euripides is also alluding to Hdt. 4. 82, in which reference is made to a marvelous footprint of Heracles, two cubits in length, ἐν πέτρῃ ἐνεόν. (The Herodotean passage is also subjected to some gentle mockery in Lucian, *VHist.* 1. 7.) For the likelihood that Book 4 of Herodotus antedates Eur. *El.*, see *ICS* 10 (1985) 8–9.

⁴³ S. Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge 1986) 247: "The scene does not merely mock the Aeschylean passage . . . but also mocks the mocker for the false conclusions her logic induces."

⁴⁴ Cf. H. Tarrant, "Midwifery and the *Clouds*," *CQ* 38 (1988) 116–22, esp. 122, with n. 24.

⁴⁵ Ar. *Nub.* 534–36. H.-J. Newiger, "Elektra in Aristophanes' *Wolken*," *Hermes* 89 (1961) 422–30 argues that Aristophanes is here defending Aeschylus against the criticism of his *Choephoroi* that Euripides includes in his *Electra*, which could have been produced before Aristophanes composed these lines of his parabasis.

thing elsewhere in this dialogue, as well. In speaking of the philosopher, Socrates says:⁴⁶

His mind, having come to the conclusion that all these things are of little or no account, spurns them and pursues its wingéd way, as Pindar says, throughout the universe, "in the deeps below the earth" and "in the heights above the heaven"; geometrising upon earth, measuring its surfaces, astronomising in the heavens . . .

This is surely an elevated and intellectualized version of Aristophanes' ludicrous portrayal of "Socrates" on his first appearance in *Clouds* (225–34), aloft in a basket so as to avoid having his intellect weighed down by the gross and moist emanations from the earth. And it may be that the famous image of Socrates as midwife (*Tht.* 149a, with frequent references elsewhere in the dialogue as well) was inspired by the incident in the *Clouds* where the disciple of "Socrates" reproaches Strepsiades for causing the miscarriage of an idea.⁴⁷ It is, however, equally possible, and in some instances perhaps even more likely, that we are dealing here not with the influence of Aristophanes on Plato but with genuine features of the historical Socrates that are reflected in Plato and satirized by Aristophanes. This has frequently been maintained in the case of the midwife-image,⁴⁸ and could perhaps be the case with the air-borne Socrates⁴⁹ and the metaphor of the wax-tablet as well.

But let us turn now to another Platonic passage where, I am convinced, Euripidean influence can be detected. Again, this is no ordinary Platonic passage. It is the end of the *Phaedo*, where Socrates' preparations for drinking the fatal hemlock are described. The lengthy conversation that forms the subject of this dialogue is concluded when Socrates says (115a 3–8):

ὁμοῖς μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμμία τε καὶ Κέβης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, εἰς αὐτοῖς ἔν τινι χρόνῳ ἕκαστοι πορεύσεσθε· ἐμὲ δὲ νῦν ἤδη καλεῖ, φαίη ἂν ἀνήρ

⁴⁶ *Tht.* 173e, in Levett's translation (above, note 34).

⁴⁷ *Nub.* 137 ἐξήμβλωκας; cf. *Tht.* 150e5 ἐξήμβλωσαν. That Plato was inspired by Aristophanes here is mentioned as a (remote) possibility by Tarrant (above, note 44) 122.

⁴⁸ M. F. Burnyeat, "Socratic Midwifery, Platonic Inspiration," *BICS* 24 (1977) 7–16 has issued a serious challenge to the view that Socrates himself used the comparison with a midwife. See, however, J. Tomin, "Socratic Midwifery," *CQ* 37 (1987) 97–102 and, most recently, D. Sider, "Did Socrates Call himself a Midwife? The Evidence of the *Clouds*," in K. J. Boudouris (ed.), *The Philosophy of Socrates* (Athens 1991) 333–38. I am inclined to agree with Sider in seeing the scene beginning at *Nub.* 633 as a birthing scene, and I think that his case can be strengthened by noting the occurrence of the very rare verb ἀνείλλω in the *Symposium* (206d6; cf. εἶλλε *Nub.* 761), in the passage concerned with τόκος ἐν καλῷ (206b7–8), perhaps with word-play on the name of Εἰλείθυια (206d2).

⁴⁹ Compare the myth at *Phd.* 109e ff. Nor is it Socrates alone who is represented as being capable of taking wing. Socrates' disciple Chaerephon owed his nickname The Bat not, I think, to "his sallow, unhealthy-looking complexion" (so Dunbar on *Ar. Av.* 1294–95), but to his fanatical emulation of Socrates in allowing his *psyche* to take wing and to flutter aloft, away from his body. (This seems to be the point of the joke at *Ar. Av.* 1553–64; for souls compared to bats, see *H. Od.* 24. 6.)

τραγικός, ἡ εἰμαρμένη, καὶ σχεδὸν τί μοι ὥρα τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν· δοκεῖ γὰρ δι' βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον καὶ μὴ πράγματα ταῖς γυναιξὶ παρέχειν νεκρὸν λούειν.

Given Plato's thoroughgoing denunciation of tragedy in the *Republic*, it is surprising to find him invoking tragedy in so memorable a context. And yet the allusion to tragedy is explicit, and it is an allusion to Euripides. Wilamowitz⁵⁰ considers that this may be an allusion to *Alcestis* 254–55, where Alcestis, imagining that she sees the ferryman of the dead, says ἔχων χέρ' ἐπὶ κοντῷ Χάρων / μ' ἤδη καλεῖ· Τί μέλλεις;⁵¹ As we can see, the verbal parallel is not terribly strong, being confined to the words ἤδη καλεῖ, and some scholars have even doubted that there is an allusion to any surviving tragedy. In his note on 115a5 φαίη ἂν ἀνὴρ τραγικός, for example, John Burnet says, "The phrase does not occur in any extant tragedy."⁵² But Burnet does not indicate what phrase he means. As we have seen, the phrase ἤδη καλεῖ does occur in Euripides' *Alcestis*. If Burnet means, however, the phrase ἤδη καλεῖ ἡ εἰμαρμένη, it is true that it does not occur in any extant tragedy. And, indeed, Kannicht and Snell include the words ἐμὲ δὲ νῦν ἤδη καλεῖ . . . ἡ εἰμαρμένη in *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* as fr. adesp. 348d, with a note in the apparatus recording Snell's suggestion that the original text read e.g. ἤδη καλεῖ με <—ο—> εἰμαρμένη. In fact, though, the noun εἰμαρμένη is not a tragic word.⁵³ It is introduced here and at fr. adesp. 348b, on the strength of a suggestion made by E. R. Dodds:⁵⁴ "Though the word [εἰμαρμένη] is not found as a noun before Plato, it seems to be drawn from the language of poetry: this is the most natural interpretation of *Phaedo* 115a5 ἐμὲ δὲ νῦν ἤδη καλεῖ, φαίη ἂν ἀνὴρ τραγικός, ἡ εἰμαρμένη. And it may be that there is a reminiscence here of some tragic line which has become proverbial, such as εἰμαρμένην <γὰρ> οὐδ' ἂν εἰς <ποτ> ἐκφύγοι." But it is not correct to say that the word is not found as a noun before Plato. Robert

⁵⁰ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (ed.), *Euripides. Herakles*, 4th ed. (Berlin 1959) I 25 n. 44; cf. Lucas (above, note 12) 48; Funke (above, note 12) 236. For Plato's familiarity with Eur. *Alc.*, see my comments at *C&M* 36 (1985) 56. That the references to Alcestis in Plato's *Symposium* are indeed allusions to Euripides' play, rather than to some other version of the myth, is supported by the discussion of the play by R. Garner, *From Homer to Tragedy: The Art of Allusion in Greek Poetry* (London 1990) 64–78.

⁵¹ Note that ἀνὴρ τραγικός is not necessarily incompatible with a reference to the character of Alcestis. S. Halliwell (*PCPhS* 30 [1984] 69 n. 31) aptly comments: "ἀνὴρ τραγικός is taken by Burnet and Hackforth to mean a character in tragedy, but it could equally well mean a tragedian or 'someone using tragic language'." He further notes that "Hegelochus, a tragic actor, is called ὁ τραγικός in Sannyrion fr. 8."

⁵² J. Burnet (ed.), *Plato's Phaedo* (Oxford 1911) 143.

⁵³ Even the participle εἰμαρμένος is surprisingly rare in tragedy, not being attested for either Euripides or Aeschylus (*Ag.* 913 is corrupt), and occurring only once in Sophocles (*Tr.* 169; note, however, that Dawe follows Bergk in deleting 169–70). The only secure attestation is in fr. adesp. 352, although Martin West has suggested that that fragment belongs to the *Prometheus Pyrrhophoros*, adding, "I suspect that the gnomological tradition has substituted εἰμαρμένον for πεπρωμένον" (*JHS* 99 [1979] 134 n. 20).

⁵⁴ E. R. Dodds (ed.), *Plato. Gorgias* (Oxford 1959) 350, on *Gorg.* 512e3.

Renehan, in taking issue with Dodds' formulation,⁵⁵ points to the occurrence at Antiphon 1. 21 of the expression πρὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης, which also calls into question Dodds' assertion that it is "drawn from the language of poetry." Indeed, the noun εἰμαρμένη occurs elsewhere in Plato (*Th.* 169c5, *Tim.* 89c5, *Lg.* 873c4, 904c8), so that we appear to be dealing with a Platonic, rather than a tragic, locution.⁵⁶ The passage at *Gorgias* 512e may be nothing more than a reminiscence of *Prometheus* 518 οὐκ οὖν ἂν ἐκφύγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην, with the (Platonic) τὴν εἰμαρμένην substituted for τὴν πεπρωμένην (which word is not found in Plato). Likewise, the appearance of ἡ εἰμαρμένη in *Phaedo* 115a is more reasonably attributed to Plato himself than to his tragic source. And that tragic source, as Wilamowitz correctly suggested, is Euripides' *Alcesteis*.⁵⁷ An examination of the context in Plato's dialogue will bear this out.

In his translation of the *Phaedo*, Reginald Hackforth renders the relevant portion of the above passage as follows: "but now 'tis I am called," as a tragic hero might say, by destiny; and it is just about time I made my way to the bath."⁵⁸ Hackforth's translation appears to go out of its way to point a contrast between the "tragic" tone of the call of destiny and the routine mention of the bath. And that impression is confirmed by a footnote, which reads: "The abrupt way in which Socrates 'comes down to earth' is perhaps intended to suggest his characteristic avoidance of pomposity and staginess." And this view of the situation is shared by Christopher Rowe, who says in his recent commentary on this passage:⁵⁹

"And now it's *me* that fate calls, [as] a man in a tragic play would say," which suggests that he himself is in a "tragic" or serious plight; but on his account, of course, he is not—and so he goes on, "and now I think it's just about time for me to make for the bath" (a6), as if nothing out of the ordinary were happening.

But, for Socrates, a bath *is* something out of the ordinary. As Rowe himself points out, Aristodemus in the *Symposium* (174a) comments on the unusual appearance of Socrates at Agathon's banquet, bathed and shod. And the

⁵⁵ R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes: A Critical Supplement to the Greek-English Lexicon of Liddell-Scott-Jones, Second Series*, Hypomnemata 74 (Göttingen 1982) 99.

⁵⁶ I have been unable to see W. Gundel, *Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Begriffe "Ananke" und "Heimarmene"* (Giessen 1914).

⁵⁷ It may be objected that, in *Alc.* 254–55, the subject of καλεῖ is the ferryman Charon, whereas in *Phd.* 115a5 it is "fate." But Charon has no place in a Platonic dialogue, and the substitution of a more impersonal agent, particularly at this juncture, is entirely appropriate. (Compare the unspecified θεός at *Soph. OC* 1626–28 who summons—καλεῖ—Oedipus and says, like Euripides' Charon, τί μέλλομεν χωρεῖν;) In any case, a fragment of Timotheus' *Niobe* (*PMG* 786 Page) indicates how easy is the transition from the ferryman of the dead to an impersonal "fate": Χάρων σχολάζειν οὐκ ἔα . . . καλεῖ δὲ μοῖρα νύχιος; cf. also C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Reading" *Greek Death: To the End of the Classical Period* (Oxford 1995) 319–21.

⁵⁸ R. Hackforth, *Plato's Phaedo* (Cambridge 1955) 184–85.

⁵⁹ C. J. Rowe (ed.), *Plato. Phaedo* (Cambridge 1993) 290, on *Phd.* 115a5–6.

epithet applied to Socrates by the chorus in Aristophanes' *Birds* is ἄλουντος.⁶⁰ Plato is most emphatically *not* portraying Socrates as saying: "Well, time for my execution. I think I'll just go wash up first." Rather, the passing allusion to Euripides' *Alcestis* helps to put the matter of Socrates' personal hygiene in a very different, and more serious, light.

For Alcestis, too, bathed herself before she went to meet her death. In the first episode of Euripides' play, Alcestis' serving-woman responds to the chorus' comment that Alcestis is by far the most admirable (ἀρίστη 151) woman on the face of the earth by saying πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀρίστη; And she goes on to describe in detail the preparations that Alcestis made behind closed doors when it came time for her to go to her death.⁶¹ First (159–61) she bathed and put on fresh clothes. Then (162–69) she stood in front of the hearth and addressed a prayer to Hestia, begging the goddess to look after the children she was leaving behind. Next (170–73), she went about the palace, praying at each of the altars, without tears and without lamentation. The magnitude of the impending disaster did not even cause a change in her noble complexion (173–74 οὐδὲ τούπιον / κακὸν μεθίστη χρωτὸς εὐειδῇ φύσιν). In contrast to Alcestis' remarkable composure, all the other members of the household wept piteously and copiously (192–93). Precisely the same picture is painted by Plato in the last few pages of the *Phaedo*. Socrates bathed (116a3, 8, b7), then gave directions concerning the arrangements for his children's future (116b3; cf. 115b1–4). When he was given the hemlock to drink, he took it with no change of complexion or expression (117b3–5 οὐδὲν τρέσας οὐδὲ διαφθείρας οὔτε τοῦ χρώματος οὔτε τοῦ προσώπου), and then prayed to the gods (117c1–3). Everyone present, however, broke down in tears.⁶² All these similarities, along with the explicit reference to the tragic stage, make it certain that Plato has modeled his description of Socrates' final moments on Euripides' portrayal of Alcestis. Lest anyone object that Plato is accurately recounting the details of an actual event, let us not forget that Plato tells us explicitly in the *Phaedo* (59b10) that he was not himself an eye-witness to Socrates' death.

Plato gives us Socrates' motive in bathing before drinking the poison. He has Socrates say (115a7–9), "it is better to have a bath before drinking the poison rather than give the women the trouble of washing a dead body." And we are entitled to assume that this is Alcestis' motive as well: The serving-woman's account, which includes the reference to the bath, is all designed to substantiate her assertion that Alcestis is the finest (152 ἀρίστη)

⁶⁰ Ar. Av. 1554; cf. Nu. 442, 835–37.

⁶¹ For what follows, see Stella (above, note 7) 96, who was the first, as far as I am aware, to have pointed out the similarities between these two passages. Unfortunately, her discussion seems to have remained virtually unread.

⁶² *Phd.* 117c5–d6; cf. Stella (above, note 7) 99. Socrates immediately instructed them, however, to stop their lamentation, as it was necessary for him to die ἐν εὐφημίᾳ. Compare Soph. *Trach.* 1199–1202, with the observations of R. Fowler (reviewing M. Davies' commentary), *BMCR* 2 (1991) 342.

of women. And we may recall the famous closing words of the *Phaedo*: ἥδε ἡ τελευτή, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες, τοῦ ἐταίρου ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, ἀνδρός, ὡς ἡμεῖς φαίμεν ἄν, τῶν τότε ὧν ἐπειράθημεν ἀρίστου καὶ ἄλλως φρονιμωτάτου καὶ δικαιοτάτου.⁶³ Alcestis and Socrates did not bathe in order to demonstrate their sang-froid in the face of death. Their bath was an indication of their virtue. They did it to spare others the trouble of having to bathe their corpses.⁶⁴ For the ritual bathing of the corpse was an invariable element of the last rites for the dead in ancient Greece.⁶⁵ I am aware of only three occasions on which this bathing was carried out prospectively, that is to say, before death: the two instances that we have been considering and the case of Oedipus, in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*. Toward the end of that play, the messenger tells us that the cranky old Oedipus, sensing that death was near, ordered his two daughters to fetch water for a bath. Obediently, they brought water and *they* bathed their father and dressed him in preparation for his death (1598–1603). This is as it should be, as it is normally up to the female relatives of the deceased to carry out this rite. In the case of Oedipus, however, there is one reason and one reason alone that the bath takes place before, rather than after, death. For the messenger tells us (1648–49) that, after he received his divine summons, Oedipus simply disappeared. There was to be no corpse to prepare for burial, so the ritual bath needed to be performed, by Oedipus' daughters, while he was still alive. Thus, Plato's Socrates and Euripides' Alcestis appear to be the only characters who bathe themselves in anticipation of their death.⁶⁶ And it is clear that the one account is dependent upon the other.

But it is not sufficient merely to point out the connection between these two texts. We must ask ourselves why Plato used Euripides' drama in this way. Once the question is asked, the answer is immediately apparent. The entire conversation of the *Phaedo* was concerned with the demonstration of the immortality of the soul. Socrates has just spent the previous fifty pages

⁶³ The vocative (ὦ Ἐχέκρατες) reminds us that the *Phaedo* is itself, like *Alc.* 152–98, in effect a "messenger speech"; cf. Stella (above, note 7) 93–95.

⁶⁴ D. J. Stewart, "Socrates' Last Bath," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 10 (1972) 253–59, assumes that this motive is inadequate. He asks (253), "Why does Socrates take a bath in the *Phaedo* (116a)? Not, why does he say he is going to take one—to save the women trouble after he is dead—but why does Plato bother to mention this seemingly trivial incident?" Stewart notes the parallel between Socrates' bath and that of Alcestis, but he mentions the parallel only because he seems to think that Eur. *Alc.* provides evidence for a ritual bath as an element of Orphic ritual (256). It is, of course, not Orphic, but general Greek custom; see the following note.

⁶⁵ D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca 1971) 149–50; M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge 1974) 5; E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley 1979) 13; R. Seaford, "The Last Bath of Agamemnon," *CQ* 34 (1984) 247–54; R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (Ithaca 1985) 24, 138. Alexiou (27, 39) notes that this element of ritual has survived through Byzantine and into modern times.

⁶⁶ In Sophocles' *Ajax* the hero bathes himself before committing suicide (654–56). But he explains that this is a matter of purifying himself from the stains of the slaughter that he has committed (cf. line 10 and R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* [Oxford 1983] 216–17, 317), so that he can evade the wrath of Athena. And, in any case, the proper ritual bathing will in fact take place for Ajax after his death (1404–06).

trying to persuade his companions that death is not the end. By alluding to Alcestis just before he drinks the hemlock, Socrates invokes the most—indeed, the only—appropriate mythological exemplum. For, in Euripides' play, Alcestis does not in fact die (or, at least, her death is not permanent); she is rescued from the underworld by the hero Heracles. As John Heath, reminds us: "There is no well-known individual in all Greek mythology *except Alcestis* who dies and is returned to human life without cosmic repercussions which are soon remedied. There are plenty of symbolic and metaphorical rebirths . . . , but simple and unconditional resurrection to a second earthly life is limited to Alcestis."⁶⁷ And so the association of Socrates with Alcestis enhances our recognition that Socrates will not in fact die. As so often in the dialogues, Plato relies on literary means, as well as on reasoned argument, to convey his message.⁶⁸

Before leaving the subject of the *Phaedo* and its indebtedness to Euripides' *Alcestis*, let me note briefly that this relationship may help us to shed some light on the mysterious last words of Socrates (*Phd.* 118a7–8), "Crito, we owe a cock to Asclepius; don't neglect to pay off this debt." For *Alcestis* opens with a conspicuous mention of Asclepius (3–4), and there are two further references to him in the course of the play (124, 970). Clearly there is a thematic significance to Asclepius in this play, as he is supposed to have been responsible for restoring the dead to life.⁶⁹ And surely this is the reason for his presence on Socrates' lips and mind in his very last moments. It will be clear that I am not sympathetic to the recent attempt by Glenn Most to argue that Socrates' final words are an indication of his clairvoyant vision regarding Plato's recovery from illness.⁷⁰ But, at the same time, I find that there is much of value in Most's discussion. Particularly cogent are Most's criticisms (101) of the view that sees the words as expressing Socrates' gratitude to Asclepius for curing him of the sickness that is life, his insistence (103–04) that the obligation referred to by Socrates reflects something that occurred in the past rather than something hoped for in the future and his emphasis (105–06) on the plurals in Socrates' statement: *οφείλομεν, ἀπόδοτε, ἀμελήσητε*. Most is also right to call our attention (104–05) to the importance of the sequence of events: Socrates mentions the debt to Asclepius *after* he has drunk the hemlock; either, therefore, he has only now, rather carelessly, remembered a debt that has been owed for some time or the debt has only now been incurred. But

⁶⁷ J. Heath, "The Failure of Orpheus," *TAPA* 124 (1994) 163–96, at 175 (emphasis in the original).

⁶⁸ On the inappropriateness of separating "literary" and "philosophical" aims in the dialogues, and in the *Phaedo* in particular, see H. H. Bacon, "The Poetry of *Phaedo*," in M. Griffith and D. J. Mastrorarde (eds.), *Cabinet of the Muses: Essays on Classical and Comparative Literature in Honor of Thomas G. Rosenmeyer* (Atlanta 1990) 147–62.

⁶⁹ Stesichorus, *PMG* 194 Page; Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 55–58; Pherecydes, *FGrH* 3 F 35; see T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore 1993) 91–92.

⁷⁰ G. W. Most, "A Cock for Asclepius," *CQ* 43 (1993) 96–111. Most's article contains an abundance of references to the substantial secondary literature on this vexing problem.

Most's own solution does not adequately take account of this. Most refers (108–09) to “those about to die,” to “the point of death” and to “proximity to death.” But at the same time he reminds us of Socrates’ prophetic utterance at his trial, which took place some thirty days (see Xen. *Mem.* 4. 8. 2) earlier. And he neglects to mention Socrates’ prophetic dream (*Crito* 43d–44b), two days before the events described in the *Phaedo*. Thus, “the point of death,” at which time one is supposed to possess a special prophetic ability, must be extended to include a period of at least a month. In speaking of the prophecy recorded at *Apology* 39c–d, Most says, apparently anticipating this objection, that Socrates’ “death is indeed certain but not yet imminent” (109). But the wording at *Theaetetus* 142c4–5 (not mentioned by Most), where Euclides says ἐθαύμασα Σωκράτους ὡς μαντικῶς ἄλλα τε δὴ εἶπε καὶ περὶ τούτου, clearly indicates that Plato wishes to represent Socrates as having been generally and genuinely prescient. And, in any case, the prophetic occurrences documented in *Apology*, *Crito* and *Theaetetus* all precede Socrates’ drinking of the hemlock. If he could have a clairvoyant vision, before drinking the hemlock, of the fate in store for those who voted for his condemnation, of the time of arrival of the sacred ship from Delos and of the important contribution that *Theaetetus* would make in the field of mathematics, he could equally well have had an inspiration before drinking the hemlock concerning Plato’s health. “The sequence,” as Most himself (108) puts it, “first the draught, then the words, remains unintelligible.”

But the sequence, indeed the fact that the words were not uttered until the numbness reached Socrates’ abdomen, is perfectly intelligible if, as I am convinced, the debt to Asclepius *could* not be incurred until the very moment of death. Earlier in the dialogue, Socrates had provided an argument, known as the “cyclical” or the “*antapodosis*” argument, for the immortality of the soul. In conversation with Cebes, Socrates secures agreement that there must be a process that balances (71e8 ἀνταποδώσομεν) the process of dying, namely the process of being restored to life (e13 τὸ ἀναβιώσκεσθαι; cf. 72a1–2, c8, d8). Socrates goes on to give additional arguments, but Simmias indicates (85b–d) that he and Cebes do not feel quite certain that the soul is indeed immortal; further discussion is required in order to eliminate all possible objections. Needless to say, this is perfectly acceptable to Socrates, who is always willing to investigate and to discuss. He asks the two Thebans to articulate their concerns, which they do with such cogency that a pall of depression and scepticism shrouds the entire company (88c). At this point, there is a brief interlude, as *Phaedo* breaks off his narrative and Echecrates urges him to continue his report of Socrates’ final conversation right through to the end. We are, I think, intended to recall the similar interlude in Book 11 of the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus breaks off the account of his journey to the underworld and Alcinous urges him to continue and to relate fully his return from the land of the dead. *Phaedo* continues by telling Echecrates how Socrates healed

(89a6 ἰόσατο) their despondency.⁷¹ Socrates began, according to Phaedo, by turning attention away from the death of an individual man and toward the (apparent) death of the argument itself. They would truly have cause to go into mourning, Socrates said, if the argument expired and could not be brought back to life (89b10 ἀναβιώσασθαι). Socrates' attempts to revive the moribund argument are entirely successful, and both Simmias and Cebes find that they are fully persuaded that the soul is, indeed, immortal and imperishable. And yet, Simmias, Cebes and Socrates agree (107a–b) that it is essential to continue subjecting the argument to further scrutiny and to pursue the inquiry to the utmost degree of which human nature is capable. As long, in other words, as we can humanly do so, we are obligated to test the argument to see if, indeed, it still holds. When we can no longer do so—and this is the point that Socrates has reached when he utters his famous last words—we are entitled to conclude that the argument has been well and truly resurrected, and that the inevitable consequence of death is the restoration of life. The attainment of this conclusion is at least as worthy of a thank-offering as the discovery of the theorem of the square on the hypotenuse, in gratitude for which Pythagoras is reported to have sacrificed an ox. It is probable that the tradition regarding Pythagoras' thank-offering is as old as the fourth century B.C.⁷² If it antedates the composition of the *Phaedo*, it may be that Plato is deliberately alluding to it here and representing Socrates as surpassing his philosophical forebear by (1) making an even more momentous discovery, (2) offering a more modest sacrificial victim, and one more in keeping with the simplicity demanded of the philosophical life, and (3) specifying a particularly appropriate recipient of the sacrifice, inasmuch as Asclepius was noted for having restored the dead to life.⁷³

To return, then, to the matter of the influence of Euripides on Plato, one final example will illustrate the profound indebtedness of the philosopher to the dramatist. Books 2–10 of the *Republic* take as their point of departure one of the most striking, and one of the earliest, “thought-experiments” in the history of philosophy. In order to examine the question of whether

⁷¹ P. C. Santilli, “Socrates and Asclepius: The Final Words,” *International Studies in Philosophy* 22.3 (1990) 29–39, is right to see the importance of this passage in connection with Socrates' last words (35). But his discussion is vitiated by (among other things) his conviction that “we cannot seriously believe that Plato would have wanted us to think that Socrates had contracted a real debt to the demi-god of a vulgar cult or had concluded his life with this as an expression of his religious devotion” (36). For the Platonic Socrates, it is most certainly not the case (as Santilli believes) that philosophical investigation supersedes religious devotion.

⁷² W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, transl. by E. L. Minar, Jr. (Cambridge, MA 1972) 180 with n. 110, 428–29.

⁷³ In addition, the sacrificial victim is itself particularly appropriate to the discovery, if the cock was considered to be a symbol of resurrection in Plato's day, as it manifestly was at a later time; cf. F. Cumont, “A propos des dernières paroles de Socrate,” *CRAI* (1943) 112–26, at 124–25. It should be noted that, as Cumont (122) well points out, the text does not state explicitly that the cock is to be a sacrificial victim, but that does seem the most natural inference.

justice is really preferable to injustice, Glaucon requires Socrates to respond to a hypothetical scenario: Let us imagine two men, one completely unjust, but with a reputation for utmost uprightness, and the other a model of justice, but with the greatest reputation for wickedness; then let us see which of them is better off. It is essential that the just man have a reputation for injustice; for, if he were reputed to be just, it would not be clear whether he was acting justly in order to reap the rewards that come of a reputation for justice or was acting justly for the sake of justice itself. And so, says Glaucon (361c3–d1, in Cornford's translation):

He must be stripped of everything but justice, and denied every advantage the other [that is, the unjust man] enjoyed. Doing no wrong, he must have the worst reputation for wrong-doing (μηδὲν γὰρ ἀδικῶν δόξαν ἐχέτω τὴν μεγίστην ἀδικίας), to test whether his virtue is proof against all that comes of having a bad name; and under this lifelong imputation of wickedness, let him hold on his course of justice unwavering to the point of death (ἵτω ἀμετάστατος μέχρι θανάτου, δοκῶν μὲν εἶναι ἄδικος διὰ βίου, ὢν δὲ δίκαιος).

To a certain extent, of course, Socrates is himself the obvious representative of the just man;⁷⁴ he was, as Phaedo puts it, in reality "the best and wisest and most just of men," yet his conviction and execution, as well as his portrayal in the *Clouds* as an unscrupulous charlatan, provide a clear indication that many in Athens regarded him as a danger to the community.

But there is another representative, one which, I am convinced, also served as Plato's model. In 412 B.C., when Plato was in all probability fifteen years old, Euripides' *Helen* was first performed in Athens.⁷⁵ In this play it is revealed that, contrary to all accounts, Helen was not in fact abducted by Paris, nor did she ever go to Troy. Instead, she has maintained her chastity and her uprightness despite trials and deprivations that have lasted for some years. The gods have wafted her away to Egypt, where she is besieged by a barbarian king who wishes to marry her and to cause her to be in fact what she already is by reputation, namely a wanton and adulterous woman. For, meanwhile, the gods have created a phantom in Helen's likeness, and it is the phantom that has gone off with Paris and has caused the Trojan War, making "Helen" the object of universal reprobation. In the first episode of Euripides' play, Helen explains to the chorus the situation she is in. She says (269–70) ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλαῖς συμφοραῖς ἐγκείμεθα. / πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ οὔσ' ἄδικος, εἰμὶ δυσκλεῆς κτλ. Indeed, her circumstances could not be worse: The exiled Teucer had earlier arrived from Troy and told Helen (131–42) that her husband Menelaus is reported

⁷⁴ Compare Callicles' admonition to Socrates of what would be likely to happen to him if someone were to bring charges against him in court, φάσκων ἀδικεῖν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα (*Gorg.* 486a9); cf. Dodds (above, note 54) 370, on *Gorg.* 521e6–522a3.

⁷⁵ For the likelihood of Plato's familiarity with this play, see my comments at *SO* 60 (1985) 18, 31 n. 12.

to have died, that her mother Leda has hanged herself out of shame at Helen's disgraceful reputation and that her brothers, the Dioscuri, also are no longer alive, they too having perhaps committed suicide on account of their sister's infamy.

This is, then, precisely one half of the "thought-experiment" that we see envisioned in Book 2 of Plato's *Republic*, and the outcome of the experiment is exactly the one that Plato approves in Book 10. Just as the Myth of Er shows that the just man is ultimately rewarded and attains a blessed state regardless of the reputation he has among men, so Euripides' *Helen* ends with the assurance that the much-reviled heroine will be rewarded after her death for her virtue by achieving, like her brothers the Dioscuri, divine status (1666–67). But it is not the hope of rewards that motivates Helen's virtue. She has no reason to maintain her chastity and her faithfulness to her lawful husband Menelaus—especially once she is convinced that he is dead—except her innate goodness. And yet her virtue is so strong that she is prepared to resist the advances of the barbaric Theoclymenus even to the death.

Nor is she alone in exhibiting perfect moral uprightness in the face of outrageous tribulations. Theoclymenus' sister, the remarkable character Theonoe, who was undoubtedly invented by Euripides, agrees to assist the virtuous Helen, despite her brother's threats. She has, so she tells us, a great shrine of justice (μέγα ἱερὸν τῆς δίκης 1002) that abides in her character, and nothing can induce her to act contrary to what is right. She will in fact be conferring a benefit on her wicked brother, even though he will not think it a benefit, by requiring him to act in accordance with justice (1020–21): εὐεργετῶ γὰρ κείνον οὐ δοκοῦς' ὅμως, / ἐκ δυσσεβείας ὅστιον εἰ τίθημί νιν. It is difficult not to think in this connection of the Socrates of Plato's *Apology*.⁷⁶ After the judges have cast their votes and have found Socrates guilty as charged, the prosecution asks for the death penalty, and it is incumbent upon the defendant to propose an alternative penalty. Despite the guilty verdict, Socrates proposes as the penalty that which is an appropriate reward for someone who has conferred the greatest benefit on the city (εὐεργετεῖν τὴν μεγίστην εὐεργεσίαν 36c4), namely maintenance at public expense in the prytaneion. And the benefit that Socrates has conferred upon the citizens of Athens is that, like Euripides' Theonoe, he has attempted to persuade each of them, against their will, to strive to become as virtuous and as sensible as possible (ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστος καὶ φρονιμώτατος ἔσοιτο 36c7–8). It is surprising that the connection between Theonoe and Socrates has not been more generally emphasized.⁷⁷ After all,

⁷⁶ So M. Pohlenz, *Die griechische Tragödie*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen 1954) I 387: "Sokrates glauben wir hier zu vernehmen, dem das Vorteilhafte und das Sittlichgute, Gutes tun und sittlich fördern gleichbedeutend ist."

⁷⁷ R. Kannicht (ed.), *Euripides. Helena* (Heidelberg 1969) I 75–76 sees in Theonoe a precursor of Plato's ideal of the philosopher, but makes no mention of a connection with Socrates or with the *Republic*. G. Ronnet, "Le cas de conscience de Théonoé ou Euripide et la

she is introduced in Euripides' play as someone who possesses complete and perfect knowledge (τὰ θεῖα γὰρ / τὰ τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα πάντ' ἡπίστατο 13–14; cf. 317, 922–23), and she ought therefore to stand as the ideal test-case for the Socratic paradox whereby knowledge and virtue are identified. And indeed, in true Socratic fashion, the omniscient Theonoe does act virtuously.

The ancients saw a connection between Socrates and Euripides.⁷⁸ Stories even circulated to the effect that the philosopher helped the dramatist to write his tragedies.⁷⁹ That, of course, is pure fantasy. But it is a fact that Socrates and Euripides were contemporaries. And they were highly visible figures in Athens at the time when Plato's sensibilities were being formed. The influence that Socrates exercised on Plato is obvious. I have tried to suggest, by looking at a small number of specific instances, that Euripides too played an important role in influencing the intellectual development of the young Plato.

Let me conclude by moving from specifics to the more dangerous and speculative level of generalization. It is clear that Plato had a profoundly ambivalent attitude toward tragedy: On the one hand, his suspicion of its imitative character prompted him to eliminate it from the ideal state constructed in the *Republic*; on the other hand, he adopted that very imitative character in the genre he chose to employ for his philosophical writings. Even the ancients recognized, and attempted to account for, the strikingly dramatic form of the Platonic dialogues. Diogenes Laertius quotes Dicaearchus, who lived as early as the fourth century B.C., to the effect that, before he met Socrates and turned to philosophy, Plato wrote poetry, at first dithyrambs, then lyric poetry and tragedy.⁸⁰ This, too, is likely to be pure fantasy, just like the story, attributed also to Dicaearchus, that Plato wrestled in his youth, and even that he competed at the Isthmian Games. But stories like this about ancient authors are generally not created out of thin air. There is usually something, especially something in the writings of the author in question, that prompts the story.⁸¹ And in the case

sophistique face à l'idée de justice," *RPh* 53 (1979) 251–59 emphasizes the importance of the theme of justice in *Helen* (without, however, noting any similarity with the *Republic*) and suggests that the transcendent character of justice in the play is reminiscent of the thinking of Socrates.

⁷⁸ See V. Martin, "Euripide et Ménandre face à leur publique," in *Euripide*, Entretiens Fond. Hardt 6 (Vandoeuvres–Genève 1960) 266–69, for evidence that this perception had already begun to take hold in the time of their contemporary, Aristophanes.

⁷⁹ W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* I.3 (Munich 1940) 275; G. Arrighetti, "Socrate, Euripide e la tragedia: Aristoph., *Ranae* 1491–1499," in *Storia, poesia e pensiero nel mondo antico: Studi in onore di Marcello Gigante* (Naples 1994) 35–44. For the reliability of the ancient anecdotal tradition concerning Euripides, see M. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (Baltimore 1981) 88–104.

⁸⁰ D.L. 3. 4–5 = Dicaearchus, fr. 40 Wehrli. Diogenes Laertius continues with an absurd account (3. 6, not from Dicaearchus), according to which Euripides accompanied Plato on his supposed journey to Egypt.

⁸¹ J. Fairweather, "Fiction in the Biographies of Ancient Writers," *Ancient Society* 5 (1974) 231–75, esp. 232–42.

of Plato it is fairly obvious what that something was. In the first place, as we have noted, Plato's writings are in the dramatic form of the dialogue. But, beyond that, there are two sequences of dialogues, one that survives and one that was only projected, that are in the form of trilogies. The one that survives is the sequence *Theaetetus*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*. These three dialogues are explicitly connected with one another, and are obviously intended to be read as a trilogy.⁸²

In both *Theaetetus* (183e) and *Sophist* (217c) Socrates mentions his long-past meeting with the aged Parmenides. In the *Sophist* the three speakers of the *Theaetetus* meet again "according to yesterday's agreement" and introduce the visitor who is asked to explain the nature and mutual relations of three types: Sophist, Statesman and Philosopher; and the *Statesman* begins with explicit references to the *Sophist*, and includes others at 258b, 266d, 284b and 286b. *Theaetetus* talks to Socrates in the *Theaetetus*, to the visitor in the *Sophist*, and is present but "let off" in the *Statesman*, where his place is taken by the younger Socrates, who has been silently present at the two earlier discussions.

It makes little difference whether these three dialogues were conceived as a unity from the start or, as seems more likely, *Sophist* and *Statesman* were added on to an already existing *Theaetetus*.⁸³ What matters is that, when *Sophist* and *Statesman* were completed, they formed a connected trilogy, with *Theaetetus* as the first of the group. At the end of his life, Plato planned a second trilogy, *Timaeus*, *Critias*, *Hermocrates*, of which only the *Timaeus* and part of the *Critias*, which breaks off in the middle of a sentence, were completed.⁸⁴ Also at the end of his life Plato composed his forbidding dialogue, *The Laws*, in which the Athenian says that the lawgivers are the true poets, who have composed the best and most beautiful tragedy (817b), making it clear that the inferior sort of tragedy, that composed by the likes of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, has a questionable status in the city that the Stranger envisions. Thus there is evidence available in the Platonic dialogues themselves that Plato thought of himself as in some peculiar sense continuing—and transcending—the tradition of which Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides were a part.

⁸² W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* V (Cambridge 1978) 33. Guthrie, however, includes also the *Parmenides*, to make up a group of "four dialogues to be read in conjunction." But, as he himself indicates, the discussion represented in *Parm.*, which is referred to in both *Tht.* and *Sph.*, belongs to the distant past, whereas the discussion that takes place in *Tht.*, *Sph.* and *Plt.* is continuous and occupies a period of only two days. The relationship, therefore, between *Parm.* on the one hand and *Tht.*, *Sph.* and *Plt.* on the other is very much the same as that between the *Republic* on the one hand and the trilogy *Timaeus*, *Critias*, *Hermocrates* (for which, see Cornford [below, note 84]) on the other. Guthrie is here influenced by the two-millennium-old habit (for which, see below) of thinking of the Platonic corpus as being composed of "tetralogies."

⁸³ So L. Campbell (ed.), *The Theaetetus of Plato*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1883) lv–lvi; cf. D. Bostock, *Plato's Theaetetus* (Oxford 1988) 10–14.

⁸⁴ See F. M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology* (London 1937) 1–8.

And so the ancient editors of the Platonic corpus, who organized the dialogues variously into tetralogies—an organization that is still adopted in the most recent Oxford text of Plato—and trilogies, were merely following up a lead that Plato himself had provided. Hartmut Erbse has recognized this,⁸⁵ but he goes on to make the suggestion that the Platonic practice of arranging four self-contained dialogues in a single grouping inspired Plato's students to coin the term "tetralogy," which was subsequently taken over by the Alexandrian scholars to designate the four dramas composed by a tragedian for a single competition. There are good reasons for rejecting this suggestion. To begin with, the groups of four related dialogues that Erbse relies on (*Theaetetus*, *Sophist*, *Statesman* and *Philosopher*; *Republic*, *Timaeus*, *Critias* and *Hermocrates*) are chimeras: Lynette Reid has convinced me (and she will, I hope, soon convince others) that Plato never intended to write a dialogue called *The Philosopher*, and *The Republic* is only very tenuously connected with its three supposed companions (see above, note 82). In the second place, even if there were groupings of four dialogues, there is no reason to believe that these were referred to as "tetralogies" before the time of the Alexandrian scholars.⁸⁶ Indeed, Friedrich Solmsen has well argued that the testimony of Diogenes Laertius (3. 61: ἔνιοι δέ, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός, εἰς τριλογίας ἔλκουσι τοὺς διαλόγους) "must not be read as implying the existence of the tetralogical arrangement prior to Aristophanes" at the end of the third century B.C.⁸⁷ It would appear, then, that the evidence available to us indicates that a scheme whereby the dialogues of Plato were arranged in groups of three originated closer to the time of Plato than that whereby they were arranged in groups of four.⁸⁸ Aristophanes of Byzantium, then, and perhaps other Alexandrian grammarians as well, responding to the dramatic form of Plato's works, but having little or no guidance regarding the date of

⁸⁵ H. Erbse, in H. Hunger et al. (eds.), *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur I* (Zurich 1961) 219–20; cf. also A.-H. Chroust, "The Organization of the Corpus Platonicum in Antiquity," *Hermes* 93 (1965) 43 n. 3.

⁸⁶ Pickard-Cambridge (above, note 9) 80 makes the more plausible suggestion that the name "tetralogy" arose, not in connection with either drama or the Platonic dialogues, but "in reference to oratory and denoted a group of four λόγοι (speeches) concerned with the same case, like those of Antiphon."

⁸⁷ F. Solmsen, "The Academic and the Alexandrian Editions of Plato's Works," *JCS* 6 (1981) 102–11, at 106. Solmsen continues: "It is hard to imagine why of all men just he, the great cataloguer, should depart from the standard grouping with the deplorable result of leaving a good number of the dialogues ἄτακτα, i.e. outside the groups he put together. In fact, his unfortunate experiment makes far more sense if there was no standard grouping yet." It should be noted, further, that the wording of D.L. does not oblige us to believe that Aristophanes himself used the expression "trilogy" to refer to each of his groups of three dialogues.

⁸⁸ This view is supported by the arguments of Chroust (above, note 85) 43–46; cf. also G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Florence 1952) 265–66 and A. Carlini, *Studi sulla tradizione antica e medievale del Fedone* (Rome 1972) 24–25. Pfeiffer (above, note 13) 196–97 and J. A. Philip, "The Platonic Corpus," *Phoenix* 24 (1970) 296–308, however, follow Wilamowitz (above, note 22) II 324 in believing that Aristophanes was rejecting an earlier arrangement according to tetralogies.

composition of the various dialogues and needing to make some kind of arrangement of the works in the Platonic corpus, chose to organize them in "dramatic" groups. (That those groups consisted of three, rather than four, dialogues each, by the way, eliminates the unwelcome introduction of a comparison of every fourth Platonic dialogue with a satyr-play.) Aristophanes was undoubtedly influenced also by the biographical tradition, which included an account, already over a century old, according to which Plato turned to the writing of philosophical dialogues after abandoning his youthful attempts at composing tragedies.⁸⁹

But why did Plato consider himself to belong in this dramatic, rather than philosophical, tradition? We must remember that the character of philosophy changed with the career of Socrates. The Pre-Socratic philosophers were primarily concerned with what we are more likely to call "natural science," whereas Socrates, as Cicero puts it in the *Tusculan Disputations* (5. 4. 10; cf. D.L. 2. 21), was the first to bring philosophy down from the heavens and to concentrate instead on ethics. And the literary genre in which ethical concerns were most thoroughly explored and examined in the fifth century was the tragic genre.⁹⁰ It is the virtue of Martha Nussbaum's book *The Fragility of Goodness* that it recognizes that tragedy is essentially philosophical, in the sense that it explores moral issues in the same way as the Platonic dialogues.⁹¹ But there is a peculiarity in the organization of Nussbaum's book: She begins by discussing ethics in Aeschylus and Sophocles, then in Plato and Aristotle, relegating Euripides, or rather Euripides' *Hecuba*, to an Epilogue. And it almost looks as though the inclusion of Euripides in her book was in fact an afterthought, for, in the final footnote to *The Fragility of Goodness* (511 n. 58) Nussbaum expresses gratitude to Kenneth Reckford, "who first urged me to include a discussion of the *Hecuba* in this book." One wonders if, like Helmut Kuhn (see above, pages 40–41), Nussbaum would have felt more comfortable excluding consideration of Euripides altogether.

And yet, when Plato thought of tragedy—as he often did—he surely thought of it in terms of the Euripidean type of tragedy that dominated the stage during his childhood and, indeed, for the entire course of his life. There is, in fact, a feature of Euripidean drama that makes it, rather than the tragedies of Aeschylus or Sophocles, a proper analogue to the Platonic dialogue. In his new book, *Tragedy's End*,⁹² Francis Dunn shows in very skillful fashion the way in which Euripides' dramas reject closure: In

⁸⁹ See A. Swift Riginos, *Platonica: The Anecdotes Concerning the Life and Writings of Plato*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 3 (Leiden 1976) 43–51.

⁹⁰ See E. A. Havelock, "The Evidence for the Teaching of Socrates," *TAPA* 65 (1934) 283: "Acted drama, or dramatized conversations, was the traditional Greek method of discussing and analysing moral ideas."

⁹¹ Above, note 26. Cf. also T. H. Irwin, "Plato: The Intellectual Background," in R. Kraut (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Plato* (Cambridge 1992) 74.

⁹² F. Dunn, *Tragedy's End: Closure and Innovation in Euripidean Drama* (Oxford 1996).

contrast to his predecessors, Euripides uses the traditional dramatic closing gestures to shed an ironic light on the course of the play's action, in order to render the ending of the play problematic and unsettling. While Dunn does not express himself in precisely these terms, he might well have spoken of Euripidean drama as being "aporetic," like the early dialogues of Plato.⁹³ We see a characteristic feature of Euripidean dramaturgy in his *Medea*. At the beginning of the play we are presented with a Medea who has been shamelessly abandoned by her ruthless husband Jason. Our sympathies are enlisted for this unfortunate and helpless woman, who finds herself in a foreign country, bereft of friends and allies, through no fault of her own. But, in the course of the play, we watch as Medea deftly manipulates those around her in order to take justified vengeance upon her unfaithful husband. We are, however, horrified when we realize the form that her vengeance is to take. And, when the play ends, we are left with far more questions than answers. We see a similar pattern in the *Bacchae*, written a quarter of a century later. We recognize that Dionysus is a god, and we acknowledge that he is entitled to the respect and worship due to a god. At the same time, Pentheus is unreasonable in his opposition to the god, and we take a certain comfortable satisfaction in seeing things put right—to a degree. But at some point before the end of the play we recognize that the conventional morality espoused by the chorus, to which we have given our ready sympathy, is, to put it mildly, problematic. Similarly unsettling are, for example, the early *Hecuba* and the late *Orestes*.

And this is the same pattern we find in Plato's early, "aporetic," dialogues. We are initially inclined to agree, for example, with Laches, in the dialogue of the same name, that the brave man is the man who is willing to maintain his place in the line of battle and to ward off the enemy's assault without running away. And, similarly, Euthyphro's definition of holiness, that it is that which is loved by the gods, comes close enough to conveying what we loosely think of as holiness that we are willing to approve it—at least until Socrates begins to demonstrate its inadequacy. But by the end of the *Euthyphro*, and by the end of the *Laches*, we are not at all sure we know

⁹³ The term "aporia" is, however, used and the connection between Euripides and Plato (or, rather, Socrates) is drawn on just these grounds, by L. K. Haight, *Socratic Elenchos and Maieusis in Euripides' Medea* (diss. Loyola University of Chicago 1993) 250–51, 285, 476–77 and passim. At 250 n. 42 Haight refers to C. A. E. Luschnig, *Tragic Aporia: A Study of Euripides' Iphigenia at Aulis*, Ramus Monographs 3 (Berwick 1988), but notes that no comparison is there made with the Socratic *elenchos*. This point has been anticipated in curious, indeed almost perverse, fashion by J. J. Chapman, *Lucian, Plato and Greek Morals* (Boston 1931) 141–42, by whom Euripides and Plato are compared on the grounds that the former "generally manages to cast a doubt on what his play is intended to signify," while the latter "makes appeal to that passion for mystification which Euripides shows in his plays." Few will agree, however, with Chapman's views, that "Euripides himself did not know" what his plays were all about, that Plato's dialogues "are drawing-room diversions," that (166) Plato's "function was that of the entertainer" and that, in Athens, "conversation, like the Drama in Euripides' time, had become a sort of game." The Greeks took their "games" seriously, as seriously, in fact, as we now take irony and ambiguity.

what bravery and holiness are. And yet we *thought* we knew. Just as we thought we knew that Medea was justified in avenging herself on Jason, and Dionysus was justified in insisting on Pentheus' worship.

The similarities between Euripides and Socrates that led to the fantastic story of the philosopher collaborating with the dramatist on his tragedies, and that later provoked Nietzsche to implicate Socrates in the demise of tragedy,⁹⁴ must have struck the young Plato as well. Just as Socrates had lowered the tone of philosophy and had begun to annoy his interlocutors by discussing such trivial matters as cobblers and cooks,⁹⁵ so Euripides was criticized by Aristophanes for introducing οἰκεῖα πράγματα (*Frogs* 959, with 980–88) into the noble art of tragedy.⁹⁶ And so, when Plato decided, apparently rather early in his career, to present the philosophy of Socrates in literary form, it was perhaps inevitable that he should turn for inspiration to the Philosopher of the Stage, and that his Socratic dialogues should earn him in turn the title of Dramatist of the Life of Reason.⁹⁷

Appendix

I give below all the quotations from and allusions to Euripides in the Platonic corpus that are known to me. (I omit, as certainly spurious, *Epistle* 1, which quotes fr. 956 N at 309d, and *Axiochus*, which quotes *Cresphontes* fr. 449 N at 368a.) Most of these have been pointed out before (see the works cited above, note 12), but a number are new. In each instance I indicate between parentheses the name of the interlocutor; it will be clear that Plato has put the majority of the references to Euripides (25 out of 42) into the mouth of Socrates. It is therefore not the case that Plato is merely using Euripidean allusions as a means of characterizing, say, Agathon or Phaedrus as the type of smart young man who enlivens his conversation with tags from contemporary poetry.

(1) *Apol.* 20e5–6 (Socrates): οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν ἐρῶ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἂν λέγω, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀξιόχρεων ὑμῖν τὸν λέγοντα ἀνοίσω; cf. *Melanippe* fr. 484.1 N κοῦκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα (cited also at *Symp.* 177a). What is at issue is Socrates' *sophia* and the allusion is to Euripides' *Melanippe the Wise*. Even if the play was not known by that title in Plato's day (see O. Taplin, *JHS* 95 [1975] 184–86; M. L. West, *JHS* 99 [1979] 131; A. L. Brown, *CQ* 34 [1984] 268–69), the heroine of the play was

⁹⁴ See above, page 39; W. J. Dannhauser, *Nietzsche's View of Socrates* (Ithaca 1974) 55–61.

⁹⁵ See, e.g. *Pl. Gorg.* 490c–91a, 494e, *Hipp. mai.* 288d, *Symp.* 221e, *Xen. Mem.* 1. 2. 37, 4. 5–6.

⁹⁶ See Haight (above, note 93) 219–20; Rutherford (above, note 32) 204.

⁹⁷ See J. H. Randall, Jr., *Plato: Dramatist of the Life of Reason* (New York 1970). I should like to thank The Center for Advanced Study of the University of Illinois, as well as the university's Campus Research Board, for enabling me to complete the present study.

notorious for her *sophia*; see Aristophanes' quotation and parody, *Lys.* 1124–27.

(2) *Cri.* 44b3 (Socrates): The woman in Socrates' dream quotes the Homeric line ἡματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἵκοιο (*Il.* 9. 363, spoken by Achilles). Adam notes that there is a word-play here on Φθίην and φθίω (or φθίσις), and notes that the same word-play occurs in Eur. *El.* 836. (Burnet, however, is not convinced that any word-play is present.) But there is a more significant instance of this word-play elsewhere in Euripides, namely at *IA* 713 (note the ominous ἐκεῖσ' ἀπάξει 714), where what is at issue is precisely the fabrication whereby Iphigenia is lured to her death with promise of marriage to Achilles. (Of course, it is possible that this word-play was current—Edmonds detects it also in Strattis, fr. 18—and that Plato is not specifically thinking of Euripides' use of it. But Plato does seem to have Euripides in mind in this passage; see the following.)

(3) *Cri.* 44b6–c5 (Crito): The speech in which Crito tries to persuade Socrates to allow him to effect his escape from prison seems to contain a reminiscence of Pylades' speech at *IT* 674–86, in which Pylades affirms that he will not abandon Orestes. Crito gives two reasons: his friendship for Socrates and his desire to avoid disgrace (cf. *IT* 686 φίλον γεγῶτα καὶ φοβούμενον ψόγον). In both instances the disgrace is highlighted (44c2 τίς ἂν αἰσχίων, 674 αἰσχροὺς), and in both there is appeal to the general reputation the speaker will have (44b9 πολλοῖς δόξω, 678 δόξω δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖσι). And, of course, in both the persuasion is ineffective, as both Socrates and Orestes refuse (for very different reasons) to allow their friends to endanger themselves.

(4) *Phd.* 115a5–6 (Socrates): For ἐμὲ δὲ νῦν ἤδη καλεῖ, φαίη ἂν ἀνὴρ τραγικός, ἢ εἰμαρμένη, see above, pages 46–51.

(5) *Crat.* 395c1 (Socrates): The etymology of Atreus' name (κατὰ τὸ ἄτρεστον) is perhaps taken from *IA* 321, where Agamemnon says of himself, μὴν τρέσας οὐκ ἀνακαλύψω βλέφαρον, Ἀτρέως γεγῶς;

(6) *Tht.* 154d4–6 (Socrates): ἐὰν ἀποκρίνη ὅτι ἔστιν, Εὐριπίδειόν τι συμβήσεται· ἡ μὲν γὰρ γλῶττα ἀνέλεγκτος ἡμῖν ἔσται, ἡ δὲ φρὴν οὐκ ἀνέλεγκτος. The reference here is to the famous line *Hipp.* 612 ἡ γλῶσσ' ὁμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος (quoted also at *Symp.* 199a). The line, of course, was already notorious by Plato's day (see Ar. *Thesm.* 275–76, *Ran.* 101–02, 1471, Arist. *Rhet.* 1416a31), and a reference to this line does not necessarily prove familiarity with the play itself, but cf. below on *Symp.* 189c, *Alc.* I 113c, *Prt.* 352b–d.

(7) *Tht.* 193c3–5 (Socrates): For ἐμβιβάσας προσαρμόσαι εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῆς ἵχνος, ἵνα γένηται ἀναγνώρισις, see above, pages 42–45.

(8) *Symp.* 177a2–4 (Eryximachus): ἡ μὲν μοι ἀρχὴ τοῦ λόγου ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Εὐριπίδου Μελανίπην· οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλὰ Φαίδρου τοῦδε. This is another explicit reference to *Melanippe* fr. 484. 1 N κούκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα (cited also at *Apol.* 20e).

(9) *Symp.* 179b–c (Phaedrus): Alcestis is given as an example of the sacrifices that Eros can inspire. Although Dover (on 179b6) claims that “Plato may be using an older and simpler form of the legend” than that presented in Euripides’ play, I have argued (*C&M* 36 [1985] 56; cf. also Vicaire [above, note 2] 172–73) that Phaedrus’ language makes it clear that he has the Euripidean version in mind.

(10) *Symp.* 180c–d (Pausanias): Like Eryximachus (see above, on 177a2–4), Pausanias opens his speech in praise of Eros with an apparent reference to Euripides, saying that there is not just one Eros, but rather two. Funke sees here an allusion to the prologue to *Stheneboea*. Cf. *GLP* III 16. 22–25 Page διπλοὶ γὰρ εἰς ἔρωτες ἔντροφοι χθονί· / ὁ μὲν γεγώς ἔχθιστος εἰς Ἀιδην φέρει, / ὁ δ’ εἰς τὸ σῶφρον ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν τ’ ἄγων ἔρωτος / ζηλωτὸς ἀνθρώποισιν, ὧν εἶην ἐγώ. Bury ad loc. also compares fr. 550 and Funke (above, note 12) 236 compares *IA* 548 ff.

(11) *Symp.* 189c (Aristophanes): Aristophanes, too, seems to color the opening of his speech with a Euripidean reminiscence. He claims that men do not recognize the power of Eros, for, if they did, they would erect the most impressive temples and altars in his honor, and would make the greatest sacrifices to him, which in fact they do not now do. This takes its inspiration (so A. E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus* [Oxford 1928] 653; cf. also Wilamowitz [above, note 50], Stella [above, note 7] 84) from the chorus’ statement at *Hipp.* 535–40 that it is absurd that the Greeks make great sacrifices at Olympia and Delphi but do not similarly honor Eros.

(12) *Symp.* 196e2–3 (Agathon): πᾶς γοῦν ποιητὴς γίγνεται, “κἂν ἄμουσος ἢ τὸ πρίν,” οὗ ἂν Ἔρως ἄψηται. This is a direct quotation from *Stheneboea* fr. 663 N ποιητὴν ἄρα / Ἔρως διδάσκει, κἂν ἄμουσος ἢ τὸ πρίν. It was already a familiar tag (cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 1074, where, again, it is cited without attribution), but Plato’s familiarity with the play is indicated by the earlier allusion (see above) at 180c–d.

(13) *Symp.* 199a5–6 (Socrates): ἡ γλῶσσα οὖν ὑπέσχετο, ἡ δὲ φρενὶ οὐ· χαιρέτω δὴ. The reference here is to *Hipp.* 612, as at *Tht.* 154d4–6 (see above). Further, as Dover notes ad loc.: “Given a7 οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην, Plato may have had Eur. *Medea* 1044 f. οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην· χαιρέτω βουλευμάτων τὰ πρόσθεν at the back of his mind.”

(14) *Phdr.* 244d6 (Socrates): παλαιῶν ἐκ μηνιμάτων; cf. *Phoen.* 934 παλαιῶν Ἄρεος ἐκ μηνιμάτων. Mastronarde ad loc. comments, “the use of the same words in Pl. *Phdr.* 244d6 is either a reminiscence of Tir.’s speech or evidence that the phrase was traditional in religious or oracular language connected with expiation.” But these same words are found only in these two places and in authors (Aelius Aristides and Iamblichus) who quote from or allude to Plato.

(15) *Phdr.* 268c5 (Socrates): Euripides and Sophocles are named as representatives of the class of tragic poets.

(16) *Phdr.* 274e6 and 275a5 (Socrates): μνήμης . . . φάρμακον. I. Rutherford (*Hermes* 118 [1990] 377–79) suggests that the use of this image for writing is an imitation of *Palamedes* fr. 578. 1 N τὰ τῆς γε λήθης φάρμακ'. (The same suggestion had been made more briefly by G. R. F. Ferrari, *Listening to the Cicadas: A Study of Plato's Phaedrus* [Cambridge 1987] 281 n. 21.) It is interesting to note that the phonological terminology that Euripides uses in the following line, fr. 578. 2 ἄφωνα φωνήεντα (Nauck: ἄφωνα καὶ φωνοῦντα mss: ἄφωνα καὶ φωνήεντα Hemsterhuys), is not attested again until Pl. *Crat.* 393e1 φωνήεσι τε καὶ ἀφώνοις. Cf. Nightingale (above, note 2) 149–54 for a detailed discussion of the way in which Plato uses the story of Palamedes (and, in particular, Euripides' version of it) in the *Phaedrus*.

(17) *Alc.* I 113c2–3 (Socrates): τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἄρα συμβαίνει, ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδη· σοῦ τάδε κινδυνεύεις, οὐκ ἐμοῦ ἀκηκοέναι; cf. *Hipp.* 352 σοῦ τάδ', οὐκ ἐμοῦ, κλύεις.

(18) *Alc.* II 146a5–6 (Socrates): τούτῳ μέρος, / ἵν' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει κράτιστος ὢν. This is an unattributed quotation of *Antiope* fr. 183. 3–4 N (cited also at *Gorg.* 484e, with βέλτιστος for κράτιστος). For text and commentary, see J. Kambitsis, *L'Antiope d'Euripide* (Athens 1972) fr. XXIII.

(19) *Alc.* II 151b–c (Socrates): The dialogue comes to a close with Socrates comparing himself with Euripides' Creon and quoting *Phoen.* 858–59 οἰωνὸν ἐθέμην καλλίνικα σὰ στέφη· / ἐν γὰρ κλύδωνι κείμεθ', ὥσπερ οἴσθα σύ.

(20) *Theag.* 125b–d (Socrates): The line σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν συνουσίῃ, attributed to Euripides, is quoted (twice) and discussed at length. See below, on *Resp.* 568a.

(21) *Prt.* 352b–d (Socrates): There has been a prolonged debate among scholars over the question of whether Euripides, in composing *Phaedra's* speech at *Hipp.* 373–430, was engaging in polemics against the Socratic paradox whereby knowledge and virtue are identified. But regardless of whether this is the case (for the opposing views, see e.g. J. Moline, *Plato's Theory of Understanding* [Madison 1981] 22–25 and T. H. Irwin, "Euripides and Socrates," *CP* 78 [1983] 183–97) there seems to be little doubt that Plato's formulation here recalls the Euripidean passage (so Wilamowitz [above, note 50]).

(22) *Gorg.* 484e3–7 (Callicles): συμβαίνει γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου· λαμπρὸς τέ ἐστιν ἕκαστος ἐν τούτῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐπείγεται, νέμων τὸ πλεῖστον ἡμέρας τούτῳ μέρος, ἵν' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει βέλτιστος ὢν (quoted also at *Alc.* II 146a, with κράτιστος for βέλτιστος). This is the first of the quotations from Euripides' *Antiope* (fr. 183. 3–4 N = XXIII Kambitsis) in *Gorgias*. For this and the following, in addition to the commentaries by Dodds and Kambitsis, see the detailed discussion by Nightingale (above, note 2).

(23) *Gorg.* 485e6–86a3 (Callicles): *Antiope* fr. 185 N = IX Kambitsis.

(24) *Gorg.* 486b4–5 (Callicles): *Antiope* fr. 186 N = XXII Kambitsis.

(25) *Gorg.* 486c4–8 (Callicles): *Antiope* fr. 188 N = X Kambitsis (quoted also at 521e).

(26) *Gorg.* 492e10–11 (Socrates): οὐ γάρ τοι θαυμάζοιμ' ἄν εἰ Εὐριπίδης ἀληθῆ ἐν τοῖσδε λέγει, λέγων· τίς δ' οἶδεν, εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστὶ κατθανεῖν, / τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν (*Polyeidus* fr. 638 N). These lines were already notorious (cf. *Ar. Ran.* 1082, 1477), so Plato's quotation does not necessarily imply familiarity with the play.

(27) *Gorg.* 508a6 (Socrates): Wilamowitz (above, note 22) I 216 considers it likely that Plato's introduction here of the concept of ἰσότης (cf. also *Lg.* 757a) is a deliberate allusion to Jocasta's speech in Euripides' *Phoenissae*, where ἰσότης is mentioned prominently, in lines 536 and 542.

(28) *Gorg.* 521b2 (Callicles): εἴ σοι Μυσόν γε ἥδιον καλεῖν. According to Olympiodorus (*in Pl. Gorg.* 45. 4 = 235. 1–2 Westerink), this is a reference to Euripides' *Telephus* (fr. 704 N).

(29) *Gorg.* 521e1–2 (Socrates): See Dodds ad loc.: “τὰ κομψὰ ταῦτα echoes Callicles' quotation from Euripides at 486c6, but with an opposite application.”

(30) *Meno* 76d4–5 (Socrates): ἔστιν γὰρ χροὰ ἀπορροή χρημάτων ὅψει σύμμετρος καὶ αἰσθητός. This definition of color is described as “tragic” (76e3), and I argue in “Socrates' ‘Tragic’ Definition of Color (Pl. *Meno* 76D–E),” *CP* 91 (1996) 339–45 that this refers to a theory of perception that was mentioned in the work, now lost, of some tragic poet, most likely Euripides.

(31) *Hp. Ma.* 283b1–2 (Socrates): πολλοῖς συνδοκεῖ ὅτι τὸν σοφὸν αὐτὸν αὐτῷ μάλιστα δεῖ σοφὸν εἶναι; cf. fr. 905 N μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός.

(32) *Ion* 533d3–4 (Socrates): ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ λίθῳ ἦν Εὐριπίδης μὲν Μαγνητὴν ὠνόμασεν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ Ἑρακλείαν; cf. *Oeneus* fr. 567 N τὰς βροτῶν / γνώμας σκοπῶν ὥστε Μαγνητὴς λίθος / τὴν δόξαν ἔλκει καὶ μεθήσιν πάλιν. Plato has taken from Euripides not only the name of the Magnesian stone but its figurative use, for he is here employing it as an analogue for the θεῖα δύναμις of divine inspiration.

(33) *Resp.* 361c–d (Glaucón): See above, pages 53–56.

(34) *Resp.* 522d1–2 (Socrates): παγγέλοιον γοῦν, ἔφην, στρατηγὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις Παλαμῆδης ἐκάστοτε ἀποφαίνειν. Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides all wrote plays concerned with Palamedes. For Plato's familiarity with Euripides' treatment, see above on *Phdr.* 274e. Here he may have in mind Eur. fr. 581 στρατηλάται τᾶν μυριοί γενοίμεθα, / σοφὸς δ' ἂν εἴς τις ἦ δὴ ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ. In what follows there is a clear reference to Aesch. fr. 181a Radt = fr. adesp. 470 K–S, which fragment, however, has been ascribed to Euripides' *Palamedes* by F. Jouan, *Euripide et les légendes des Chants Cypriens* (Paris 1966) 350 n. 2.

(35) *Resp.* 568a8–b1 (Socrates): Οὐκ ἐτός, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἢ τε τραγωδία ὅλως σοφὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης διαφέρων ἐν αὐτῇ. Τί δῆ; "Οτι καὶ τοῦτο πυκνῆς διανοίας ἐχόμενον ἐφθέγγετο, ὡς ἄρα σοφοὶ τύραννοί εἰσι τῶν σοφῶν συνουσίᾳ. (The expression πυκνῆς διανοίας appears to be poetic, perhaps even Euripidean; cf. W. Stockert on Eur. *IA* 66 f. At any rate, this seems to be the only place in prose where the word πυκνός is used in this particular metaphorical sense; see LSJ s.v. A.V, with the new Revised Supplement, which removes D.H. *Th.* 24 to its proper place.) According to the Ravennas schol. to Ar. *Thesm.* 21 (οἷόν γέ που 'στιν αἱ σοφαὶ ξυνουσίαι, addressed to "Euripides"), Aristophanes here "appears to consider the line σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν συνουσίᾳ to be by Euripides; but it is by Sophocles, from *Ajax the Locrian* (fr. 14 Radt)." The scholiast goes on to say that Aristophanes made the same mistake also in his *Heroes* (fr. 323 K–A), as did Plato and Antisthenes (fr. 59 Decleva Caizzi). Rather than believe that Aristophanes, Plato and Antisthenes were all mistaken on such a matter, we should assume that the same, or a similar, line appeared both in Euripides and in Sophocles; see P. Rau, *Paratragodia: Untersuchung einer komischen Form des Aristophanes*, Zetemata 45 (Munich 1967) 160. (See also above, on *Theag.* 125b–d, where Socrates again quotes this line and attributes it to Euripides.)

(36) *Resp.* 568b3 (Adeimantus): καὶ ὡς ἰσόθεόν γ', ἔφη, τὴν τυραννίδα ἐγκωμιάζει (sc. Εὐριπίδης); cf. *Tro.* 1169 τῆς ἰσοθέου τυραννίδος, *Phoen.* 506 τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην . . . τυραννίδα.

(37) *Resp.* 607c1 (Socrates): ὁ τῶν λῖαν σοφῶν (Herwerden: δία σοφῶν vel διὰ σοφῶν vel διασοφῶν mss) ὄχλος κρατῶν (κράτων Adam). This "looks like a tragic fragment, and a comparison with *Med.* 305 εἰμὶ δ' οὐκ ἄγαν σοφὴ and *Hipp.* 518, *El.* 296 γνώμην ἐνεῖναι τοῖς σοφοῖς λῖαν σοφῇν, suggests that the author is Euripides" (Adam ad loc.; cf. Funke [above note 12] 235).

(38) *Resp.* 620c (Socrates): Wilamowitz (above, note 50) was surely correct to see in the portrayal of Odysseus in afterlife, remembering his earlier tribulations and relinquishing all ambition, searching for βίον ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου ἀπράγμονος, a reminiscence of Euripides, *Philoctetes* fr. 787 (spoken by Odysseus) πῶς δ' ἂν φρονοίην, ᾧ παρὴν ἀπραγμόνως / ἐν τοῖσι πολλοῖς ἡριθμημένῳ στρατοῦ / ἴσον μετασχεῖν τῷ σοφωτάτῳ τύχης;

(39) *Tim.* 47b3–5 (Timaeus): τᾶλλα δὲ ὅσα ἐλάττω τί ἂν ὑμνοῖμεν, ὧν ὁ μὴ φιλόσοφος τυφλωθεὶς ὀδυρόμενος ἂν θρηνοῖ μάτην; The connection between this and *Phoen.* 1762 τί ταῦτα θρηνοῖ καὶ μάτην ὀδυρόμαι; (spoken by the blind Oedipus) is manifest. But the real question is whether this line is Euripidean (or, more importantly, was thought to be Euripidean by the aged Plato). Unfortunately, that is a question that seems impossible to resolve. It is clear that the line was not written by Euripides as part of his *Phoenissae*, but whether the line appeared in the text of that play by the time the *Timaeus* was written we cannot say.

(40) *Lg.* 757a5–6 (The Athenian): παλαιὸς γὰρ λόγος ἀληθὴς ὢν, ὡς ἰσότης φιλότητα ἀπεργάζεται; cf. *Phoen.* 536–38 ἰσότητα τιμᾶν, ἢ φίλους ἀεὶ φίλοις . . . συνδεῖ (alluded to also at *Gorg.* 508a).

(41) *Lg.* 757b4–5 (The Athenian): τὴν μέτρῳ ἴσην καὶ σταθμῷ καὶ ἀριθμῷ; cf. *Phoen.* 541–42 καὶ γὰρ μέτρ' ἀνθρώποισι καὶ μέρη σταθμῶν / ἰσότης ἔταξε κἀριθμὸν διώρισεν.

(42) *Lg.* 836b7–8 (The Athenian): περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐρώτων—αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν—ἐναντιοῦνται παντάπασιν. The collocation αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν is surprisingly rare. Before the time of Plutarch (see *Mor.* 755c) it occurs only here and in two passages of Aristophanes. (In addition, A. Oguse apud J.-M. Jacques [ed.], *Ménandre* I.1: *La Samienne* [Paris 1971] ad loc., has proposed reading αὐτοὶ] γὰρ ἔσμεν at *Men. Samia* 13.) Those passages are *Ach.* 504 and (in the form αὐταὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν) *Thesm.* 472. Now, since both of those passages are parodies of Euripides' *Telephus*, it is reasonable to assume that the expression αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν occurred in that play and that Plato is here quoting from it.

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Perfume from Peron's:
The Politics of Pedicure in Anaxandrides
Fragment 41 Kassel–Austin¹

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When the Middle-Comic poet Anaxandrides presents us with one politician oiling the feet of another, what are we to make of it? Highly pointed satire, no doubt, but what is the point? How would a fourth-century B.C. Athenian audience have responded? After discussing the translation of the passage in question (Anaxandrides, *Protesilaus* fr. 41 K–A [40 K]), I shall adduce comparative evidence to gauge the rhetorical force of an allegation of this sort. I shall then explore the foot-anointing image in Anaxandrides as an evocation of sexual self-compromise—indeed, of *porneia*—and a figure for bribe-taking. Finally, I shall argue that because this fragment highlights the element of self-betrayal in bribe-taking, it provides a valuable glimpse into Athenian attitudes to the practice. For by shifting the focus away from “harm to the state or one of its citizens” (Dem. 21. 113),² Anaxandrides 41 will shed light on the question posed by F. D. Harvey, whether most classical Athenians would have agreed with Hyperides’ claim (5. 24–25) that bribe-taking was acceptable so long as it was not against the interests of the state.³ As we shall see, Harvey’s tentative “yes” is in need of examination.

Text and Translation

μύρω δὲ παρὰ Πέρωνος, οὐπὲρ ἀπέδοτο
ἐχθρὸς Μελανόπῳ, πολυτελοῦς Αἰγυπτίου,

¹ A version of this paper was delivered at the 1994 APA annual meeting. I would like to thank Hugh Lloyd-Jones for his stimulating remarks after the talk. Also, special thanks to Victor Bers for his advice at all stages, and to David Sansone, the anonymous referees, and Nancy Worman for their immensely helpful criticisms.

² For legal and oratorical formulae associated with bribery as an offense, see especially F. D. Harvey, “Dona Ferentes: Some Aspects of Bribery in Greek Politics,” in P. A. Cartledge and F. D. Harvey (eds.), *Crux: Essays in Greek History Presented to G. E. M. de Ste. Croix* (London 1985) 76–117; S. Perlman, “On Bribing Athenian Ambassadors,” *GRBS* 17 (1976) 224 and notes; see also below, notes 53 and 58.

³ See Harvey (previous note); also below, page 80.

ῶ νῦν ἀλείφει τοὺς πόδας Καλλιστράτου⁴

1 μύρον δὲ ¹A: μύρον τε ²A || 2 ἐχθὲς ¹A: χθὲς ²A | αἰγυπτίου ²A: ἐν
αιπτίῳ ¹A || 3 νῦν ἀλείφει ²A: συναλ- ¹A

This merest scrap, not even a complete sentence, presents the interpreter with a number of puzzles, not the least of which has to do with syntax. For even if we are correct in translating, "... perfume from Peron's, some of which he sold yesterday to Melanopus, expensive Egyptian stuff, with which he is now rubbing the feet of Callistratus," the meaning will remain obscure until we have determined the unexpressed subjects of ἀπέδοτο and ἀλείφει. As for ἀπέδοτο, the answer appears to be close at hand, namely Peron (Πέρων), a *parfumeur* familiar to audiences of the earlier part of the fourth century,⁵ and mentioned as provider of ointment in the opening phrase. As for ἀλείφει, Bergk, in the first of two solutions, suggests Πέρων again, a reading that turns the fragment into an attack upon the perfume dealer for vacillating political loyalties.⁶ Yet Bergk offers a second possibility: Melanopus as anointer of Callistratus' feet. Read thus, the fragment becomes an attack upon Melanopus for behavior that we find described in Plutarch's *Life of Demosthenes* (13. 3):

καὶ Μελάνωπος, ἀντιπολιτευόμενος Καλλιστράτῳ καὶ πολλάκις ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ χρήμασι μετατιθέμενος, εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον· Ὁ μὲν
ἀνὴρ ἐχθρὸς, τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως νικάτω συμφέρον.

Though an enemy and political opponent of Callistratus, Melanopus (Plutarch tells us) relented in his opposition on a regular basis. His excuse: that he was setting aside personal differences for the sake of the public good. The truth: that he was in the pay of his rival. On this evidence, Bergk suggests that Anaxandrides might be attacking Melanopus for lack of resolve in wavering between support and opposition to Callistratus,⁷ an interpretation endorsed by Meineke,⁸ though Kock, who remarks that the

⁴ Anaxandrides fr. 41 K-A (40 K). Text and apparatus (where ¹A = Ath. 553d-e; ²A = Ath. 689f-90a) from R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae comici graeci* II (Berlin 1991) 259. This and fr. 42 K-A (41 K) are all that survive from the *Protesilaus*, for which see H.-G. Nesselrath, *Die attische Mittlere Komödie: Ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin 1990) 214-15, 273. Internal and external clues suggest a date between 386 and 361; see Edmonds ad fr. 42 K-A (41 K and Edmonds).

⁵ Cf. Antiphanes fr. 37 K-A (35 K); Theopompus fr. 1 K-A (1 K), 17 K-A (16 K).

⁶ T. Bergk, *Commentationum de reliquiis comoediae atticae antiquae libri duo* II (Leipzig 1838) 405: "Compositi autem hi versus sunt ad ipsius ut videtur Peronis inconstantiam castigandam, qui modo Melanopo faverit, modo a Callistrati partibus steterit." For the enmity and rivalry of Melanopus and Callistratus, cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1374b25-29; Plut. *Dem.* 13. 3. See also Xen. *Hell.* 6. 3. 2, 10-11; Dem. 24. 12-13, 125-27; Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 97; R. Sealey, "Callistratus of Aphidna and his Contemporaries," *Historia* 5 (1956) 178-203; Nesselrath (above, note 4) 214 n. 105; *RE* ss. vv. "Kallistratos 1" and "Melanopos 3."

⁷ Bergk (previous note) 405: "[Melanopum] poeta fortasse propterea notare voluit, quod parum firmo esset animo, ita ut Callistrato modo assentiret, modo adversaretur . . ."

⁸ "Melanopus, cuius mollitiem hoc loco tangit Anaxandrides . . ." (A. Meineke [ed.], *Fragmenta poetarum comoediae mediae* III [Berlin 1840] 190). "[Bergk] qui postremum fragmenti versum recte de Melanopi in Callistratum obsequio interpretatur" (ibid.).

key to the puzzle would have been found in the lost context to the fragment, has his doubts.⁹ Kassel–Austin and Nesselrath express no view on the matter,¹⁰ while both Gulick and Edmonds translate with Melanopus as anointer.¹¹ In short, critics, if they show a preference, prefer Bergk's second proposal (Melanopus as anointer), yet that hardly counts as a consensus. Of course, the scant remains of Anaxandrides 41 do not permit certainty, yet Kock's agnosticism may be extreme, and it would be useful to see what clues the fragment itself contains as to how line 3 should be understood.

As it happens, the syntax of the second of the two relative clauses—the clause in which Callistratus' feet are anointed (ὧ κτλ.)—depends on who that foot-anointer is. If Melanopus, the second relative clause should be seen as dependent on the first (οὐπερ κτλ.)—if not syntactically, then surely logically.¹² For it would explain how ointment sold yesterday to Melanopus is being used by him right now. If, on the other hand, Peron, seller of ointment in οὐπερ κτλ., also does Callistratus' feet in ὧ κτλ., the logical, and probably syntactical, dependence of the second relative clause on the first is no longer possible. (Why would Peron use ointment he had sold to one customer to anoint the feet of another?) ῥῶι κτλ. would in that case depend on the first word of the fragment, μύρῳ, just as οὐπερ certainly does. The second relative clause would thus be coordinate with, not subordinate to, the first.

⁹ T. Kock (ed.), *Comicorum atticorum fragmenta* II (Leipzig 1884) 151: "Quis esset ille, qui pedes Callistrati unguere dicitur, ex eis quae praecedebant aut sequebantur perspiciebatur: poterat Melanopus (ac sic Bergk . . .), poterat vero etiam is qui unguentum vendidisset significari."

¹⁰ Nesselrath (above, note 4) 214: "einen kräftigen Hieb gegen die Politiker Kallistratos und Melanopos anbrachte." Cf. C. Wuerz, *Merces ecclesiastica Athenis: Quibus de causis quoque tempore instituta et qua ratione dispensari solita sit* (diss. Berlin 1878) 14–15.

¹¹ "Perfume bought at Peron's shop, some of which he sold yesterday to Melanopus, and expensive Egyptian it is too; with it Melanopus anoints the feet of Callistratus" (Gulick translating Ath. 553d–e, 689f–90a in the Loeb edition); "... And scent from Peron's, some of which— / It was Egyptian, only for the rich— / Last night he sold Melanopus, who's now rubbing / Callistratus's feet with it after tubbing" (Edmonds). Similarly *RE* s.v. "Melanopos 3" 424.59–61 ("Anaxandrides brauchte dafür [the arrangement described in Plut. *Dem.* 13. 3] den Ausdruck: M. habe die füße des Kallistratos mit kostbarstem ägyptischen Öl gesalbt . . ."). T. Long, *Barbarians in Greek Comedy* (Carbondale and Edwardsville 1986) 80 (cf. 81) somewhat more vaguely understands Callistratus as having "his feet anointed with an expensive Egyptian unguent purchased just the day before from the *unguentarius* Peron." The following secondary sources were unavailable to me for the writing of this paper: R. Vuolo Sofia, "Anassandride e la commedia greca nell'età di mezzo," in *I cinquant'anni d'un Liceo classico* (Salerno 1984) 218–27; eadem, "Ancora su Anassandride," *Euresis* (1985) 39–43; eadem, "Altri frammenti di Anassandride," *Euresis* (1986) 46–58.

¹² If Μελάνωπος is the subject of ἀλείφει, the natural choice for the antecedent of ὧ is πολυτελοῦς Αἰγυπτίου (sc. μύρου), though ὧ could still be seen as loosely referring to μύρῳ. For relative clauses dependent on relative clauses (by no means unusual in Greek), see C. Mugler, *L'Évolution des subordonnées relatives complexes en grec*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg 89 (Paris 1938) passim.

How then to explain the apparent asyndeton?¹³ Most likely as anaphora (or rather, polyptoton) of the relative pronoun,¹⁴ which in combination with the temporal adverbs ἐχθές and νῦν would produce a “then–now” antithesis (yesterday it was Melanopus’ turn at Peron’s shop, now it is Callistratus’; cf. Bergk’s first proposal, above, page 70). Yet the clauses in Anaxandrides show scarcely any of the parallelism usually associated with that effect. Οὐπερ, a partitive genitive serving as object to a verb of selling (“de quo non nihil vendidit,” Kock), emphatically delimits its antecedent, informing us that the “perfume from Peron’s” mentioned initially is the same variety as that sold to Melanopus: costly Egyptian.¹⁵ ὦτι κτλ. by contrast indicates what use its antecedent was put to, and seems a nearly paratactical continuation of its antecedent clause.¹⁶ In fact, there appears to be little reason why ᾧ κτλ. should not depend on πολυτελοῦς Αἰγυπτίου (sc. μύρου), the noun-phrase that immediately precedes it.¹⁷ As for the subject of ἀλείφει, that is easily supplied by brachylogy ἀπὸ κοινοῦ from Μελανώφω in the preceding clause (so too Πέρων as subject of ἀπέδοτο).¹⁸ Hence Melanopus as Callistratus’ foot-anointer, a reading that seems to offer fewer syntactical and logical obstacles than does the alternative.¹⁹

¹³ Asyndeton, that is, if the relative clauses exhibit shared dependence. If the second relative depends on the first, there is, obviously, no need for a conjunction. For asyndeton, see Denniston, *Particles* xliii–xlvii; Kühner–Gerth II §546. For linked, coordinate relative clauses, cf. Xen. *An.* 1. 7. 3 ἐλευθερίας ἥς κέκτησθε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἧς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω; Thuc. 2. 43. 2 τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κείται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ’ ἐν ᾧ κτλ.

¹⁴ A striking example of which is furnished by Soph. *Phil.* 663–66 (five asyndetic ὅς-clauses in a row). See Kühner–Gerth II §556.5.c for anaphoric asyndeton, both of relative and non-relative clauses.

¹⁵ For ὅς = οἶος, see LSJ s.v. ὅς, ἦ, ὅ B.IV.5.

¹⁶ For defining relative clauses, see C. Mugler, *Problèmes de sémantique et d’ordre syntaxique*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l’Université de Strasbourg 92 (Paris 1939) 48–53. For continuative relative clauses (ᾧ = καὶ αὐτῷ), see Mugler 81–96; Kühner–Gerth II §561.2; Smyth §2490. As for other possible comparanda, the ἦν-clauses in Ar. *Nub.* 555–56 show asyndetic coordination, though asyndeton there seems to reflect a nearly complete lack of logical connection (cf. C. Lehman, *Der Relativsatz*, Language Universals Series 3 [Tübingen 1984] 143 on the “nur lose angeschlossen” relative clauses in *Il.* 13. 643–47). By contrast, the temporal adverbs in Anaxandrides suggest connection of some sort. *Il.* 5. 403–04 contains a pair of asyndetic, coordinate ὅς-clauses sharing an understood Ἀΐδης as antecedent. Yet the second ὅς-clause, clearly explanatory to the first, depends on it logically, if not syntactically. This, if anything, suggests for the Anaxandrides puzzle a non-asyndetic solution (viz., ᾧ κτλ. dependent on οὐπερ κτλ.).

¹⁷ For continuative relative clauses, see previous note; cf. the translations of Gulick and Edmonds (above, note 11).

¹⁸ Cf. Thuc. 5. 65. 4 τὸ ὕδωρ . . . περὶ οὐπερ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ βλάπτοντος ὁποτέρωσιν ἂν (= ἐς ὁποτέρους ἂν τῶν πολεμούντων) ἐσπίτη Μαντινῆς καὶ Τεγεᾶται πολεμοῦσιν, where ὕδωρ as subject of ἐσπίτη in the minor relative clause is supplied from οὐπερ in the major relative clause. For brachylogy of this sort, see Kühner–Gerth II §597.2.a.

¹⁹ That the subject of ἀλείφει is neither Πέρων nor Μελάνωπος, but an unknown third party to be supplied from the fragmentary μύρω δὲ παρὰ Πέρωνος clause seems not to be a serious possibility. (Such a connection would be very obscure.) Even Kock, the only critic actually to voice doubt over Bergk’s second reading, identifies Callistratus’ anointer as Melanopus or “is qui unguentum vendidisset,” i.e. Peron (Kock is perhaps unnecessarily vague about that; see above, note 9).

Read thus, the joke that this fragment appears meant to be gains a *para prosdokian* punch line: Melanopus is doing *what* with the stuff?²⁰ As for why it would be *para prosdokian* for Melanopus to anoint the feet of Callistratus, that is the next order of business.

Foot-Anointers, Foot-Anointings

In ancient Greek society, the task of ministering to the cleanliness and comfort of the feet seems typically to have fallen to slaves, women, and prostitutes—persons, that is, of lower status than the recipients of these treatments. Washing of the feet²¹ was a gesture of hospitality customarily extended by a host to his guests. Yet hosts did not take this task upon themselves; rather, they had their slaves do it. Thus in Plato's *Symposium* Aristodemus, before reclining at Agathon's victory party, has his feet washed by a slave.²² In the *Odyssey* we find Penelope commanding her *amphipoloi* to wash the feet of the disguised Odysseus (19. 317 ἀπονίψατε), who would rather have his feet washed and anointed by another female slave in the household, his elderly nurse Eurycleia.²³ Antiphanes also shows us a female slave ordered to give a foot- and leg-anointing to a male *unguendus*, only there the anointee is (evidently) a patient rather than a guest and the anointing a miracle remedy of some sort (fr. 152 K–A [154 K]; see below, note 28).

Some accounts of foot-anointing clearly focus on the pleasure experienced by a male anointee at the hands of a female anointer. Thus Philocleon after a hard day's judging relishes the foot-anointing that he receives at the hands of his daughter (Ar. *Vesp.* 607–08). Evidence further suggests a connection between foot-anointing and sex. Of course, the aroma of ointment was considered a highly desirable, even essential, erotic accessory, and both men and women applied ointment to themselves before

²⁰ For *para prosdokian* humor, see W. B. Stanford (ed.), *Aristophanes. Frogs*, 2nd ed. (London 1963) xxxiii–xxxviii and passages cited in the index under “παρὰ προσδοκίαν jokes.” It seems fair to assume that the introduction of three well-known contemporary personalities—a pair of political rivals and a perfume dealer—in as many lines involves satire of some sort. Yet political satire against Peron would seem to lack point: Perfume dealers (at least in comedy) seem typically to have been non-Athenians (see Long [above, note 11] 79–80), though we cannot be sure in Peron's case. In any event, there is no evidence for political involvement on his part. One is also suspicious of Peron as foot-anointer. Perfume dealers might employ slaves (see, e.g. Hyperides 3), and it would stand to reason that a prosperous perfume dealer like Peron would have had a slave anoint Callistratus' feet (see below)—unless, of course, the foot-anointing is satire directed against Peron.

²¹ In what follows I supplement the foot-anointing comparanda with evidence drawn from the world of foot-washing, an activity often conjoined with foot-anointing and physically (and hence symbolically) similar to it.

²² 175a ἀπονίζειν. Ἀπονίζειν/ἀπονίπτειν is the term regularly used for washing the hands and feet, especially the feet.

²³ *Od.* 19. 343–48, 386–92, 505.

sex, and not just to the feet.²⁴ Yet the rubbing of the feet by female hands seems to have held for men a special attraction as a sexual stimulant, as it certainly does for the speaker in the following comic fragment (Antiphanes fr. 101 K–A [102 K]):

εἴτ' οὐ δικαίως εἰμὶ φιλογύνης ἐγὼ
καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας ἡδέως πάσας ἔχω;
τουτὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ πρῶτον ὃ σὺ ποεῖς παθεῖν,
μαλακαῖς καλαῖς τε χερσὶ τριφθῆναι πόδας,
πῶς οὐχὶ σεμνὸν ἐστίν;

Fond of women generally (εἰμὶ φιλογύνης) and of *hetairai* in particular, the speaker explains (γάρ) his predilection in terms of a bit of foreplay in which his interlocutor specializes: a good foot-rubbing.

Oil, not mentioned in Antiphanes 101, figures in a foot-rubbing announced in Eubulus 107 K–A (108 K):

ἐν θαλάμῳ μαλακῶς κατακείμενον· ἐν δὲ κύκλῳ νιν
παρθενικά τρυφερὰ ἄχλανιδανα μαλακὰ κατάθρυπτοι
τὸν πόδ' ἄμαρακίνοισι μύροις τρίψουσι τὸν τέμοντ'

Despite the poor condition of the text²⁵ one thing is clear: A man is going to have his feet rubbed in ointment. That he will be fussed over “in virgin-like fashion” (παρθενικά) while luxuriously ensconced in a *thamos* (a bedroom) leaves little doubt as to the sex of his anointers (female), or the sexual nature of the planned goings-on. As for the pleasure of having one's feet rubbed by female hands, this τριβόμενος will fairly melt with it (τρυφερὰ ἄχλανιδανα μαλακὰ κατάθρυπτοι), just as the φιλογύνης does in Antiphanes 101 (μαλακαῖς καλαῖς τε χερσὶ τριφθῆναι πόδας, / πῶς οὐχὶ σεμνὸν ἐστίν;). But why? Why would men—or, at least, men in comedy—derive sexual pleasure from having their feet pampered in this way?

Timothy Long views these comic foot-anointings as a kind of *reductio ad absurdum* whereby ointment, a luxury item, is used in the most luxuriously wasteful fashion imaginable: on the feet.²⁶ While that certainly is the conceit underlying the paw-anointing ordered for a dog in Eubulus (fr. 89 K–A [90 K]), it is not clear that Long's explanation of this comic *topos* does full justice to other instances. Indeed, when considering foot-anointing as an extreme form of *truphe*,²⁷ there are two things that one should bear in

²⁴ Archil. 48. 5–6, perhaps also 205 West; Semon. 16 West κάλειφόμην μύροις καὶ θυώμασιν / καὶ βακκάρι· καὶ γάρ τις ἔμπορος παρῆν (surely a prostitute speaking); Ar. *Lys.* 938–47; Ach. 1063–66 (anointing the penis); *Eccl.* 524–26 (perfume as necessary to sex). See Long (above, note 11) 78.

²⁵ See Kassel–Austin ad loc.

²⁶ Long (above, note 11) 81.

²⁷ As does a speaker who exclaims in Ath. 553a ἔθος δ' ἦν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν τρυφάντων ἐναλείφειν μύροις. In what follows (Ath. 553a–e) the speaker collects virtually

mind. One is that perfumes and ointments were believed to possess physical, especially medicinal, potency: To quote the Hippocratic corpus, "ointment warms, moistens, and softens,"²⁸ and one might add that the scent of ointment seems to have conferred a sense of well-being on its users.²⁹ The second is that the Greeks seem to have attributed to the feet a special sensitivity to physical treatment, the effects of which could be translated to the entire individual.³⁰ Thus for classical Athenian audiences a foot-rubbing in aromatic oils need not have come across simply as an outlandish extravagance; it also could have represented an exquisite, if expensive, pleasure. And the sheer physicality of such a pleasure could easily have become eroticized in certain (not all) contexts—hence Antiphanes 101 and Eubulus 107.³¹

Hence, too, it would seem, a fragment of Cephisodorus in which we encounter a cheeky slave who bristles at the thought of buying baccaris, a highly aromatic plant-root preparation, for his master's feet (Cephisodorus fr. 3 K-A [3 K]):³²

ἔπειτ' ἀλείφεσθαι τὸ σῶμά μοι πρίω

all the surviving evidence for foot-anointing in comedy (including Anaxandrides 41, but excluding Ar. *Vesp.* 607–08). Cf. Eust. *Il.* 974.56–57 (= III 603.11–13 van der Valk).

²⁸ *De diaeta* 2. 57–58, with specific reference to animal fat (λίπος δὲ θερμαίνει καὶ ὑγραίνει καὶ μαλάσσει). In Antiphanes fr. 152 K–A (154 K) Μηναργύτης/Μητραργύτης ("The Priest of Mên/The Priest of the Mother Goddess"), we seem to be dealing with a charlatan's "snake oil," though it is still significant that powerful physical effects are attributed to the ointment in question (see above, page 73). In Philonides (Ath. 691f–92b) the moistening effect of *muron* counteracts the warming effects of liquor. Dioscorides Pedianus discusses ointments in *De materia medica* 1. 52–76, and the physician Apollonius Mys wrote a treatise *Περὶ μύρων* (Ath. 688e–89b). See also Long (above, note 11) 75–78.

²⁹ In the Hippocratic *De morbis* 2. 13, a highly aromatic mixture of bayberry, galls, myrrh, frankincense, "flower of silver" (ἀργύρου ἄνθος), lard, and bay oil is applied to ulcers on the head. In Alexis fr. 195 K–A (190 K), *muron* vapors rise from the nose bringing health to the brain.

³⁰ The oracle reported at Hdt. 1. 55. 2 advises the "tender-footed (ποδαβρέ) Lydian" (Croesus) not to feel ashamed to flee in cowardly fashion (μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι) when the mule (Cyrus) becomes king of the Medes; this seems to associate a Lydian fondness for soft shoes with a "soft" disposition. In Plat. *Symp.* 195d, Agathon interprets the ἀπαλοὶ πόδες of Ate in *Il.* 19. 92–93 as indicating that Ate herself is ἀπαλή; he then attributes ἀπαλότης to Eros for similar reasons. Xen. *Lac.* 2. 1 notes that shoes and changes of clothes soften (ἀπαλύνουσι) the bodies and feet of the young. In 2. 3, barefootedness prepares Spartan boys for the hardships of the march; cf. the hardness of the barefooted Socrates in Plat. *Symp.* 220b. In Clearchus of Soli, a Paphian princeling's *kolax* is described as holding the youth's feet wrapped in a thin cloth on his knees—as to what that *kolax* was up to, the author notes only that it should be obvious (Clearchus of Soli fr. 19 Wehrli, p. 15.19–26 = Ath. 256f–57a). Clearchus regards this as ὑπερβάλλουσα τρυφή (p. 14.6–10 Wehrli = Ath. 255e).

³¹ J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*, 2nd ed. (New York 1991) 129–30, 138–39 equates πούς with πέος in several passages, including Eubulus 107, but see R. L. Hunter (ed.), *Eubulus: The Fragments* (Cambridge 1983) 207 and D. Bain, review of Hunter, *JHS* 104 (1984) 208, who call into question Henderson's πούς–πέος equation. For the foot as an erotic object, see A. A. Berger, "Shoes (The Clothed Mind: Cultural Studies)," *ETC.: A Review of General Semantics* 47 (1990) 254–56; W. Rossi, *The Sex Life of the Foot and Shoe* (London 1977).

³² Baccaris, though not a form of μύρον (scented oil) per se, was a redolent application made from a plant root (Erotian β 14; Pliny, *HN* 21. 29).

μύρον ἱρινον καὶ ῥόδινον, ἄγαμαι, Ξανθία·
καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν χωρὶς πρίῳ μοι βάκχαριν.
Ξα. ὦ λακκόπρωκτε, βάκχαριν τοῖς σοῖς ποσὶν
ἐγὼ πρίῳμαι; λαικάσομ' ἄρα. βάκχαριν;

About to consult the oracle of Trophonius, a master is drawing up for his slave³³ a shopping list of ointments to be applied to his body as part of the ritual preparations (see Kassel–Austin ad loc.). Requesting *irinon* and *rhodinon* for the rest of him, the master has a very special request for his feet: *baccaris*. “Fuck!” exclaims the slave in a disgusted aside. “Get *baccaris* for your feet? Why not just say ‘Eat my prick!’?”

H. D. Jocelyn, who has established the meaning of the verb λαικάζειν as “perform fellatio,”³⁴ rightly understands λαικάσομ' ἄρα as signifying that the purchase of *baccaris* will somehow assimilate Xanthias to a fellator;³⁵ hence the slave’s angry retort (λακκόπρωκτε).³⁶ Why would Xanthias think this? Jocelyn adduces evidence for the wearing of perfumes as effeminate and for *baccaris* as a woman’s deodorant,³⁷ and it may well be that Xanthias fears people will think he is buying a particularly effeminate perfume to use on himself. Yet *baccaris* was hardly more inimical to manhood than many a perfume commonly worn by men attending symposia or in other situations, and other explanations should be sought.³⁸

Long rightly points out that it is the specific use to which *baccaris* will be put that elicits disgust (note the repetition: καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν χωρὶς πρίῳ μοι βάκχαριν. / . . . βάκχαριν τοῖς σοῖς ποσὶν / ἐγὼ πρίῳμαι;), yet one doubts that the slave would respond with such vehemence merely to the thought of wasting a fine perfume on the feet.³⁹ How then to explain the

³³ For Ξανθίας as a generic slave’s name in comedy, see the scholia on Ar. *Ach.* 243a and *Nub.* 1485d; Aeschin. 2. 157; see also Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 279, 532b.

³⁴ The future middle λαικάσομαι is to be understood actively as “I will perform fellatio.” See H. D. Jocelyn, “A Greek Indecency and its Students: ΛΑΙΚΑΖΕΙΝ,” *PCPhS* 26 (1980) 12–66; cf. K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, MA 1989) 204–05.

³⁵ Jocelyn (previous note) 39–40 takes λαικάσομ' ἄρα as an apodosis to an understood protasis. (For ἄρα/ἄρα = “Do that? If I do I shall . . .,” cf. Ar. *Eccl.* 746–67; see also K–A ad loc.) Long (above, note 11) 81 and others (see Jocelyn 39) misread the formula as “anything but!” (Long: “he would rather become a sodomite than bring back the Lydian ointment.”)

³⁶ Λακκόπρωκτε (“broad-arsed,” “anally penetrated”) here seems intended as a general insult rather than a literally descriptive epithet (see Dover [above, note 34] 143, who cites this passage). By contrast λαικάσομ', which the slave uses of himself, functions not just affectively but also informatively. Cf. Jocelyn (above, note 34) 15: “Affective use [of λαικάζειν and derivatives] cannot be said to have obliterated the denotative force of the words.”

³⁷ Jocelyn (above, note 34) 39–40, 63 nn. 296–97, adducing Hesychius s.v. κυσοβάκκαρις: ἥτοι τὸν κυσὸν μυρίζων· ἢ τῷ κυσῷ μυρίζομενος; Semon. 16 West (see above, note 24, though the speaker does not specify where *baccaris* was applied).

³⁸ For use of *baccaris* by men, cf. Lucian, *Lex.* 8 (symposiasts); Dioscorides Pedianus, *De materia medica* 3. 44. 1 (used for garlands); Magnes fr. 3 K–A (3 K) (to be used as an after-bath application by a man; cf. Achaeus, *TrGF* 20 F 10 Snell). For ointment as a sexual accessory used by men and women alike (not just prostitutes), see above, pages 73–74.

³⁹ Long’s interpretation (above, note 11) 81. Cf. above, page 74.

slave's reaction? Surely Xanthias knows that he, his master's personal attendant, will have to rub his master's feet in this luxurious and highly aromatic substance,⁴⁰ an action that perhaps reminds him of the fancy foot-anointings in which female prostitutes seem to have specialized, but one that will in any event assimilate him to a fellator (λαϊκάσομ' ἄρα) and, hence, a *kinaidos* or *pornos*.⁴¹ And not unlike another cheeky slave of the same name (in Ar. *Ran.*), this Xanthias balks at a request that he finds particularly unappealing (cf. *Ran.* 580–81), only here the slave must do something that will assimilate him not just to a slave, which he already is, but a prostitute, which he may not quite fancy himself as. For even slaves have their self-esteem to think of—at least, slaves in comedy.

Self-Compromise

What does all this mean for Melanopus in Anaxandrides 41? Here are some key considerations:

(1) Foot-anointing involves contact with a sensitive part.

(2) In the hands of a woman, it can produce highly pleasurable sensations for a man.

(3) Melanopus has purchased a choice perfume (πολυτελοῦς Αἰγυπτίου)⁴² doubtless intended to bring joy to Callistratus' feet.

(4) Melanopus presumably performs the service voluntarily.

(5) Melanopus and Callistratus are enemies (Plut. *Dem.* 13. 3; cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1374b25–29).

Humiliating self-surrender, pleasuring one's "conqueror"—what all this suggests is the type of self-compromise associated with *kinaidia* in males. Or does it? Might not foot-anointing in this fragment imply other forms of humiliation? We have already seen how foot-washing and foot-anointing were very much slavish occupations; might not Melanopus be signifying to his rival, "I am your slave"? Doubtless he is, but there is more to it than that. Just as citizen-male Athenians who practiced *porneia* were commonly regarded as submitting to *hubris* with a view to another man's pleasure,⁴³ so Melanopus, through willing submission to the indignity of providing an enemy with a pleasurable foot-anointing, endures a kind of *hubris* that

⁴⁰ Ion, *TrGF* 19 F 24 Snell (*Omphale*), where it is better to know about the cosmetics of Sardis, including baccaris, than "the way of life on the island of Pelops." Cf. perhaps Magnes, *Lydians* fr. 3 K–A (3 K). In Hipponax 104. 21–22 it is smeared on the nostrils; in Ar. fr. 336 K–A (319 K) its smell, like that of other μύρα, arouses disgust (cf. Aesch. fr. 14 Radt).

⁴¹ For metonymic, affective use of λαϊκάζειν and derivatives, cf. Ar. *Ach.* 72–79 and see Jocelyn (above, note 34) 41–42.

⁴² For Egyptian ointment as a *parfum de luxe*: Theophr. *De odoribus* fr. 4. 30 Wimmer (elaborate preparation; numerous and costly ingredients); Dexicrates fr. 1 K–A (1 K); Achaeus, *TrGF* 20 F 5 Snell.

⁴³ See D. M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and other Essays on Greek Love* (New York and London 1990) 88–112, esp. 97; Dover (above, note 34) 103–04. See also below, note 67.

recalls *kinaidia* or *porneia*. But what about *kolakeia*? Evidence shows that those who took money to help others in the courts or assembly might be viewed as *kolakes* (see below, page 82), as might political climbers hanging on to the coattails of more powerful men (Ar. *Vesp.* 45, 418–19, 1033–34 = *Pax* 756–57; Dem. *De Cor.* 162). Might not Melanopus be a *kolax* along such lines, with Callistratus as his *kolakeuomenos*? One might object that foot-anointing does not seem to have formed part of a *kolax*'s repertoire.⁴⁴ One might also object that Melanopus as well-wishing toady does not sit well with what we know of the enmity between him and Callistratus. For *kolakes*, though not exactly friends, could supply companionship in place of friends,⁴⁵ yet it is highly unlikely that Anaxandrides presents us with so companionable a foot-anointing. *Kolakes* furthermore typically sought to wheedle favors from their *kolakeuomenoi*; indeed, *kolakeia* is sometimes presented as manipulation or control through gratification.⁴⁶ Yet it is difficult to see an established politician like Melanopus as a wheedling, manipulative political climber. Whatever he is doing in Anaxandrides, he is not flattering a potential benefactor, but capitulating to an enemy.

In fact, the chief reason why we should read sexual overtones into this foot-anointing (more than slavishness, toadyism, or even a generalized, non-specific self-humiliation)⁴⁷ is this element of Melanopus' self-surrender. It has been noticed that in many cultures, including the ancient Greek, power relationships can be expressed sexually, with conquest and dominance assimilated to the male role in heterosexual intercourse, and defeat and submission to the female. One particularly vivid example of this is a vase-painting in which a Greek victor at the battle of the Eurymedon in the early 460s is depicted as about to commit a phallic assault upon a vanquished

⁴⁴ As for what did form a part of a *kolax*'s bag of tricks, see O. Ribbeck, *Kolax: Eine ethologische Studie*, Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 9.1 (Leipzig 1883). The foot treatment administered by a *kolax* to a Paphian princeling in Clearchus (see above, note 30) has more to do with the luxuries of Paphian royalty than the practices of *kolakes* in fourth-century Athens. Theorus blackens the boots of Athenian jurors to curry their favor (Theorus *kolax*, Ar. *Vesp.* 45, 419; Theorus bootblack, 600; cf. Plaut. *Men.* 390–91), but that is a far cry from a foot-anointing.

⁴⁵ Antiphon 65 D–K = *Suda* s.v. *θωπεία*; cf. Eur. fr. 364. 18–20 Nauck.

⁴⁶ Especially in Ar. *Eq.*, where Paphlagon and the Sausage-Seller represent politicians who manipulate the *demos* through flattery. In Eupolis fr. 172. 6–10 K–A (159 K) a *kolax* seeks out a gullible (ἡλίθιον) *ploutax* whom he proceeds to gull by greeting every word out of the man's mouth with feigned admiration (cf. Eur. fr. 364. 18–20 Nauck, "do not make friends of those who talk themselves into your house" etc.). In Ehippus fr. 6 K–A (6 K) a *hetaira* ἐκολάκευσεν ἡδέως an obnoxious guest with kisses and soothing words; this points to connections between *kolakeia* and a woman's erotic *peitho*, though Anaxandrides 41, read in connection with Plut. *Dem.* 13. 3 (see below), suggests Callistratus as the *πειθων*.

⁴⁷ For the accommodation of non-friends (not necessarily enemies) as variously demeaning, Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1124b30–25a2, where the great-souled man cannot allow his life to center around anyone but a friend; to do otherwise would be slavish (δουλικὸν γάρ), hence the low status of flatterers (διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ κόλακες θητικοὶ καὶ οἱ ταπεινοὶ κόλακες).

Persian foe.⁴⁸ While the imagery in our fragment is rather more subtle than that, we do have a parallel in which foot-washing carries a symbolic meaning very much along those lines (oracle apud Hdt. 6. 19. 2):

καὶ τότε δὴ, Μίλητε, κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων,
πολλοῖσιν δειπνόν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα γενήσῃ,
σαὶ δ' ἄλοχοι πολλοῖσι πόδας νίψουσι κομήταις,
νηοῦ δ' ἡμετέρου Διδύμοις ἄλλοισι μελήσει.

According to Herodotus, this oracle came to fulfillment when the “long-haired” Persians captured Miletus, enslaved the women and children, and plundered and burned the temple at Didyma. What of the reference to foot-washing? The image of the wives of the Milesians washing the feet of their conquerors is probably to be understood in connection with the δειπνον mentioned in the oracle, and should therefore be seen as a kind of “hospitality” foot-washing. Yet the image of Persians feasting on Miletus and enjoying its “splendid gifts” places foot-washing within the context of pleasure taken in the spoils of victory, and hints at certain other duties—sexual ones—that will be required of women formerly wives (ἄλοχοι) to the Milesians. (A similar obliquity is seen in the god’s reference to the looting and burning of his temple as a “transfer of custody.”) In the oracle, then, foot-washing conjures up images of sexual submission to war enemies; in Anaxandrides, foot-anointing symbolizes a sexually tinged submissiveness to a political enemy. So far so good, but what kind of political arrangement does Anaxandrides satirize?

I submit that this picture of Melanopus pleasuring his rival targets precisely the venality attributed to that politician in Plutarch’s *Life of Demosthenes* (13. 3). Though scholars have long recognized the applicability of Plutarch to the interpretation of the comic fragment (see above, page 70), none to my knowledge has made the specific connection between foot-anointing and bribe-taking, much less explored such a connection to any degree. Yet a Melanopus who accommodates a rival and enemy in return for cash would seem an ideal target for the satire in Anaxandrides—satire evocative of *porneia*, a key element in which was the exchange of cash for services. But can we trust Plutarch? Though he is our only source for Melanopus’ *volte-face*, the enmity between Melanopus and Callistratus is confirmed by a passage in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* where the latter’s prosecution of the former on the serious charge of defrauding the temple builders is mentioned (1374b25–29), a prosecution that certainly

⁴⁸ Red-figure oinochoe (“Eurymedon vase,” Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, inv. 1981.173) discussed in K. Schauenberg, “Eurymedon eimi,” *MDIA* (A) 90 (1975) 97–121; Dover (above, note 34) 105; J. J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York 1990) 51. For these phallic assertions of dominance, see Jocelyn (above, note 34) 38 and 63 n. 290; D. Fehling, “Phallische Demonstration,” in A. K. Siems (ed.), *Sexualität und Erotik in der Antike* (Darmstadt 1988) 282–323; Dover (above, note 34) 105–06. For an opposed view on the Eurymedon Vase, see G. F. Pinney, “For the Heroes are at Hand,” *JHS* 104 (1984) 181–83.

would not have earned the good will of the defendant in the case. As for the *bon mot* that Plutarch attributes to Melanopus (ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἐχθρός, τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως νικάτω συμφέρον), that could very well be a historian's flourish, yet as such perhaps suggests that the Callistratus–Melanopus affair achieved a level of notoriety sufficient to draw the attention of a comic poet. It therefore seems unlikely that Plutarch or his source fabricated out of whole cloth the story in the *Life of Demosthenes*,⁴⁹ and we may thus read the joke in Anaxandrides in light of the anecdote in Plutarch, and understand foot-anointing in the fragment as a figure for bribe-taking.⁵⁰ How then might Anaxandrides 41 illuminate Athenian attitudes to the practice?

Bribe-Taking Condoned?

Hyperides' speech against Demosthenes contains the following, rather surprising, assertion (5. 24–25):

You, gentlemen of the jury, are glad to let your generals and politicians reap great rewards. It is not the laws that allow this, but your own tolerance and generosity. You require only one thing: that the payments be to your benefit, not to your harm.

Hyperides gives the impression that Athenian “tolerance and generosity” (τῆς ὑμετέρας πραότητος καὶ φιλανθρωπίας) created an environment in which influence-peddling conducive to the well-being of the polis was allowed to flourish.⁵¹ But does that reflect reality? In his study of bribery in ancient Greece, F. D. Harvey asks just that question, and answers as follows:

⁴⁹ Though Melanopus' *volte-face* presumably was common knowledge, the allegations of bribery would most likely have represented an inference from Melanopus' inconstancy, nor would Athenians of the time (not just Plutarch or his source) have hesitated to jump to such conclusions (see especially Harvey [above, note 2] 89–102). As for the truth of the allegation, that cannot be ascertained, nor is it strictly speaking relevant.

⁵⁰ One possible obstacle to interpreting Anaxandrides 41 in light of Plut. *Dem.* 13. 3 would be if the story told in the latter were actually an inference from the joke in the former. In fact, Plutarch made extensive use of Old Comedy as a source (see P. A. Stadter, *A Commentary on Plutarch's Pericles* [Chapel Hill and London 1989] lviii–lvix, lxiii–lxix), yet it seems unlikely that he or his source would have drawn on so allusive and oblique a joke.

⁵¹ For the purposes of this discussion I shall define bribery as money payments (or similar material inducements) intended to influence politicians and public officials in the performance of their duties. In ancient Greek there is much overlap between the vocabulary of bribery and that of other forms of exchange. Δῶρον, δίδοναι, and λαμβάνειν could, for instance, be used with reference to both gifts and bribes. Πείθειν unqualified or out of context is similarly ambiguous (χρήμασι? λόγοις?), though πείθειν χρήμασι could be used to mean “hire” for a legitimate purpose (Hdt. 8. 134. 1; Lys. 21. 10) as well as “bribe” for an illegitimate one. Δωροδόκος refers specifically to a taker of bribes (cf. δωροδοκεῖν, -ία, etc.); δεκάζειν has to do with judicial bribery. Evaluative language (see below, page 82) could also be used to distinguish bribes from other λήμματα (“takings”). For the vocabulary of bribery, see Harvey (above, note 2) 82–89.

The majority of Hyperides' fellow Athenians regarded taking bribes against the interests of the state as particularly heinous (it was indeed only this type of *dōron* that was actually illegal), and this attitude is not confined to the late fourth century, but can be discerned in the fifth century as well. *The evidence falls short of proving the other side of the coin, that other types of dōrodokia were condoned; but that would be a reasonable, though not inevitable, inference.*⁵²

That bribes perceived to be "catapolitical" (harmful to the public good)⁵³ were regarded as more serious than other bribes,⁵⁴ that it was generally thought "to be more wicked to receive than to give" a bribe⁵⁵—this has been convincingly argued in scholarship of the last twenty years.⁵⁶ That some forms of non-catapolitical bribe-taking might have been condoned—Harvey's hypothesis—is open to dispute.⁵⁷ To test this hypothesis it will be useful to reformulate the question as follows: Were there any criteria other than harm to the polis that would at least have focused disapproval upon a given act of bribe-taking, irrespective of whether the bribe was perceived to be illegal? This is where Anaxandrides 41 can be of use. For the transaction described by Plutarch and satirized by Anaxandrides does not appear to constitute a patently treasonable, or even actionable, form of bribe-giving or bribe-taking,⁵⁸ and should therefore fall within Harvey's

⁵² Harvey (above, note 2) 112 (my emphasis).

⁵³ For Harvey's term "catapolitical," cf. e.g. Dinarchus 1. 47 δῶρα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως εἰληφώς; also Dem. 21. 113, ps.-Dem. 46. 26. See Harvey (above, note 2) 108–13. In Harvey's scheme, catapolitical bribery amounts to remunerated treason; non-catapolitical, or "petty," bribery is everything else that still counts as a bribe. Under the heading "non-catapolitical" Harvey (110 n. 120) includes sycophancy and false witness—offenses, to be sure, though not in the first instance against the state as a whole. Yet Harvey's classifications may in the end prove somewhat artificial, particularly in the matter of sycophancy, which could indeed be viewed as a threat to the state, as the *probolai* against sycophants show (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43. 5; see especially M. R. Christ, "Ostracism, Sycophancy, and the Deception of the Demos: [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 43.5," *CQ* 42 [1992] 336–46; also Christ 342–43 for sycophancy as a broadly and imprecisely defined offense).

⁵⁴ See especially Perlman (above, note 2) 224; Harvey (as quoted above).

⁵⁵ Harvey (above, note 2) 80–81.

⁵⁶ Any comprehensive bibliography on bribery in classical Athens would include (apart from works already mentioned) G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge 1987); L. Mitchell, *The Greeks and the Foreign Friendships, 435–336 B.C.* (diss. University of Durham 1994); B. S. Strauss, "The Cultural Significance of Bribery and Embezzlement in Athenian Politics: The Evidence of the Period 403–386 B.C.," *AncW* 11 (1985) 67–74; J. T. Roberts, *Accountability in Athenian Government* (Madison 1982); H. Wankel, "Die Korruption in der rednerischen Topik und in der Realität des klassischen Athen," in W. Schuller (ed.), *Korruption im Altertum* (Munich 1979) 29–47.

⁵⁷ Harvey bases his tentative conclusion partly on Hyperides' claim, partly on extrapolation from such things as the tendency, noticed by Harvey (above, note 2) 109–10, for non-catapolitical bribe-taking to escape the really harsh censure applied to venality of the catapolitical variety.

⁵⁸ Which is not to say that Melanopus' alleged venality was invulnerable to catapolitical interpretation: An orator's aims and skill, and the mood of his audience, could have been just as crucial as the "objective facts" (such as there were) in the perceived seriousness of this or any instance of bribe-taking. Still, even a skilled speaker might have found it difficult to win a conviction against Melanopus. "Actionable" and "treasonable" seem to have been largely overlapping where bribe-taking was concerned. The general law on bribery (Dem. 21. 113)

non-catapolitical category. Of course, Hyperides might not have pointed to this as an instance of a bribe taken with the best interests of the state in mind, though Melanopus, as quoted by Plutarch, does try to represent his actions as patriotic. Yet the satire in Anaxandrides 41 does not evince much in the way of tolerance or generosity, or even indifference. Why? What has Melanopus done that leaves him open to attack?

To return briefly to Hyperides 5. 24–25, I suspect that the orator has foisted on his audience a rhetorical exaggeration designed to set off in sharper detail the really catapolitical venality of which Demosthenes stands accused.⁵⁹ For evidence suggests that non-catapolitical bribe-taking, however culpable legally, could be regarded as morally contemptible. Harvey himself documents how harm to the state was not the *only* consequence of improper payments,⁶⁰ though much of the evidence for bribe-takers as “damaged goods” is found in connection with catapolitical misconduct, and is therefore equivocal on the question of how Athenians felt in *non*-catapolitical cases. Yet Anaxandrides 41 is not alone in highlighting the damage done to individual recipients of ostensibly non-catapolitical, though questionable, payments. Cratinus, for instance, satirically invokes “Goddess Gift, the Fig-Sandaled” (fr. 70 K–A [69 K] Δωροῖ συκοπέδιλε; cf. *Od.* 11. 604 Ἥρης χρυσοπεδῖλου) as patroness of sycophantic bribes,⁶¹ while Aristophanes satirizes sycophantic bribe-taking by association with *kolakeia* (fr. 172 K–A [167 K] ψίθυρός [“slanderer”] τ’ ἐκαλοῦ καὶ ψωμοκόλαξ).⁶² In Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* (2. 9) we read

had to do with instances ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ δήμου ἢ ἰδίᾳ τινὸς τῶν πολιτῶν. Demosthenes (19. 7; cf. 273–75) remarks that although the law (i.e. apud Dem. 21. 113?) was not restricted to taking bribes for harming the state, the purpose of the general prohibition was to prevent corrupt individuals from having a hand in public policy. The *nomos eisangelitikos* applied, *inter alia*, [ἐάν τις] ῥήτωρ ὢν μὴ λέγῃ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ χρήματα λαμβάνων (Hyperides 4. 8); cf. the law quoted in ps.-Dem. 46. 26. Stress is frequently laid on the catapolitical element in Dinarchus; see Harvey (above note 2) 108 and n. 114. The curse that began meetings of the *boule* and the *demos* seems to have been directed at catapolitical bribe-takers among others (Harvey 111).

⁵⁹ Hyperides may perhaps have felt he needed to dissociate the more casual backhander from high-level corruption lest the former place the latter in a less sinister light. Harvey, too (above, note 2) 108–09, finds Hyperides’ words suspicious for these reasons, though in the end he tentatively adopts a position not too far removed from that expressed by the orator.

⁶⁰ Commercial vocabulary can be used to bring out the distastefully mercenary side of bribe-taking (e.g. Dinarchus 1. 28 μισθωτός; many passages cited in Harvey [above, note 2] 84–86). Διαφθείρειν used in the sense of “give a bribe” points to damage done to a politician’s integrity (e.g. Dem. 19. 13 διεφθαρμένος καὶ πεπρακὼς ἐαυτὸν); the verb can be similarly used of sexual compromise (see Harvey 86–87). Aeschines specifically analogizes bribe-taking and prostitution (1. 29, 188; 2. 23; probably also 3. 106–07; cf. 3. 52, where the cowardly Demosthenes will “lay siege” to money being paid out but will “do no manly deed”; see Harvey 86 and below, note 67).

⁶¹ In Harvey’s scheme, non-catapolitical; see above, note 53.

⁶² Cf. Dem. 24. 199–200, 203 κολακεύει δὲ καὶ μισθοῦ γράφει καὶ πολιτεύεται (Timocrates as orator for hire); 45. 66 κολακεύοντα καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυροῦντα; ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῷ κερδαίνειν πᾶν ἂν οὗτος ποιήσῃ (false witness, one of Harvey’s non-catapolitical offenses [above, note 53], though in this section it is contrasted with civic-minded generosity). For the déclassé implications of sycophancy, see Christ (above, note 53).

that Crito sought legal help from Archdemus, an out-of-pocket orator,⁶³ whom he cultivated with gifts, hospitality, and the like. Though Socrates (who recounts the incident) and Archdemus characterize the arrangement as a perfectly respectable friendship, it is, to quote Robin Osborne, "somewhat coyly presented by Xenophon,"⁶⁴ and the fact that Archdemus' enemies accuse him of *kolakeia* suggests that "friendship" of this type was open to malicious interpretation. But why? What could be wrong with using one's forensic skills to help out a friend, or with receiving in return a token of that man's appreciation? It was in fact a problem of appearances—specifically, whether the gift in question appeared to express gratitude for a favor undertaken freely in the spirit of friendship, or to remunerate one man's placing himself at the beck and call of another.⁶⁵ For any voluntary abridgment of one's own civic autonomy was anathema to the democratic way of thinking at Athens,⁶⁶ and we should expect that putting one's right of free speech (ἰσηγορία, παρηγορία) at the disposal of another in return for gifts of whatever sort could be viewed in the way that Aeschines views citizen-male prostitution as a "sin against oneself."⁶⁷ Indeed, the satire in Anaxandrides 41 tends to confirm that a bribe-taker of Melanopus' stripe has in the first instance sinned against himself by prostituting his right of

⁶³ Surely Archdemus "the blear-eyed," a democratic leader involved in the prosecution of the generals after Arginusae (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 2), and a butt of ridicule in comedy (Ar. *Ran.* 417–21, 588, etc.) and oratory (Lys. 14. 25). See J. K. Davies, review of W. R. Connor, *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens*, in *Gnomon* 47 (1975) 377; R. Osborne, "Vexatious Litigation in Classical Athens: Sykophancy and the Sykophant," in P. Cartledge, P. Millett, and S. Todd (eds.), *Nomos: Essays in Athenian Law, Politics and Society* (Cambridge 1990) 97–98.

⁶⁴ Osborne (previous note) 97, see also 96–98. For Xen. *Mem.* 2. 9, see also P. Millett, "Patronage and its Avoidance in Classical Athens," in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society* (London 1989) 33.

⁶⁵ Cf. the anecdote at Xen. *Mem.* 2. 8 and Millett's commentary ([previous note] 28–29).

⁶⁶ For freedom as the cornerstone of democracy, see Arist. *Pol.* 1317b2–3 (the democratic principle of ruling and being ruled in turn as a component of ἐλευθερία); cf. *Ath. Pol.* 9. 1 (the abolition of debt slavery as the most democratic of Solon's reforms). For putting oneself at the beck and call of another as demeaning, Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1124b30–25a2 (see above, note 47). To quote David Konstan, "... the sovereign δῆμος was the unique entity toward which a citizen was expected, under the democracy, to show deference; in regard to a fellow citizen, such inequality signified a loss of freedom" ("Friendship, Frankness, and Flattery," in J. T. Fitzgerald [ed.], *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech: Studies on Friendship in the New Testament World* [Leiden 1996] 11).

⁶⁷ Aeschines describes the *nomos* barring prostitutes from public life as περὶ τῶν μειρακίων τῶν προχείρων εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἐξαμαρτανόντων (1. 22); cf. 1. 29, where prostitution as complicity in *hubris* against one's person, and as an indication of a predisposition to political corruption, places a decidedly sinister coloring on the *hamartia* associated with it in 1. 22. Bribe-taking as self-compromise analogous to *porneia* and slavery is explored in some detail by Lena Rubinstein in an unpublished paper ("Corruption and Legitimate Self-Interest," lecture given at Yale University, fall 1992). For prostitution as a self-inflicted political disability, see Halperin (above, note 43) 96. For ἰσηγορία and παρηγορία, see e.g. Hdt. 5. 78. 1; Eur. *Ion* 670–75; *Hipp.* 421–23; *Phoen.* 387–91; *Suppl.* 338–39, 433–41; ps.-Xen. *Ath.* 1. 6–9 (the right to address the assembly ἐξ ἴσης as a means of preserving the democracy and the freedom of the citizens); Dem. 21. 124 (the right of just redress identified with ἰσηγορία and ἐλευθερία). Also see G. Scarpata, *Parrhesia: Storia del termine e delle sue traduzioni in latino* (Brescia 1964) 22–45.

free speech—conduct that could be viewed as politically subversive insofar as it represented a contravention of democratic values. Thus when dealing with Athenian attitudes to political venality, it becomes difficult to divorce entirely the issue of self-compromise from that of harm to the state, or to suppose that any instance of political bribe-taking could be absolutely free of catapolitical implications. Yet Melanopus' sin runs even deeper.

In the introduction to her study of Greek foreign relations in the classical period, Lynette Mitchell analyses both Greek friendship and Greek enmity in terms of reciprocity and exchange, and shows how the relationship of *ekhthroi* to *ekhthroi* (personal enemies) was the mirror inverse of that between *philoï*. For the ethic that decreed one help one's friends also decreed harming one's enemies, as the Xenophontic Socrates' reformulation of Solon's prayer illustrates: "It is a sign of a man's *arete* for him to outdo his friends in kindness and his enemies in harm" (*Mem.* 2. 6. 35).⁶⁸ Among friends, good was to be met with good; among enemies, evil with evil—the latter is what Mitchell calls "negative reciprocity."⁶⁹ Anyone who, like Melanopus in Plutarch's *Life of Demosthenes*, accommodates a personal enemy violates that ethic flagrantly. For having sold his *arete* for money, he has allowed the categorical distinctions between friend and foe to become hopelessly confused.⁷⁰ In terms of the *quid pro quo* of Greek social interaction, he now deals with that enemy on a basis of asymmetrical reciprocity.⁷¹

Yet this ethic was not confined to the private sphere. For we hear of public officials excused for exploiting their positions to harm personal enemies (Lys. 9. 10, 20), and attacked for turning against friends (Aeschin. 3. 81).⁷² One passage in which the ethic of "helping friends, harming

⁶⁸ Cf. Solon 13. 5 West; see M. W. Blundell, *Helping Friends and Harming Enemies: A Study in Sophocles and Greek Ethics* (Cambridge 1989); K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Cambridge, MA 1974) 180–84.

⁶⁹ See Mitchell (above, note 56) 37–41.

⁷⁰ Cf. Aeschin. 3. 52, where Demosthenes is taken to task for withdrawing his suit against Meidias on a charge of assault. Meidias had struck Demosthenes in the Theater of Dionysus, an insult that prompted the *demos* to pass a resolution of censure against the assailant (cf. Dem. 21). Aeschines, alleging that Demosthenes took money from Meidias not to pursue the matter, attacks Demosthenes' (alleged) venality as self-betrayal (he sold the "*hubris* against himself"), a slap in the face of the Athenian people (he sold the *demos*' resolution), and but one aspect of a thoroughly disgraceful private life (cf. 51–53).

⁷¹ By asymmetrical reciprocity I mean a *quid pro quo* where what one gives is not matched by what one gets. In Plut. *Dem.* 13. 3, the money cannot adequately compensate the humiliation of Melanopus' *volte-face*—at least, not in the public eye. Indeed, it is part and parcel of that humiliation.

⁷² See especially L. G. Mitchell, "New for Old: Friendship Networks in Athenian Politics," *G&R* 43 (1996) 11–21. Rubinstein (above, note 67) points out that whereas the appearance of mercenary motives tainted self-interested action on the part of public officials, the friends/enemies ethic could be invoked to legitimize self-interested prosecutions. Still, the "conflict of interest" objection to this ethic might be raised if it suited the needs of a speaker (Aeschin. 3. 194). Lycurgus (*Leocr.* 6) remarks that personal enmity should not be the sole grounds for a prosecution, but goes on to merge personal and state interests by identifying enemies of the polis with a statesman's personal enemies.

enemies" is cast in the teeth of a political turncoat occurs in Dinarchus' speech against Demosthenes. There, after a long litany of that statesman's disservices to the state, the speaker asks whether the jury would tolerate a politician who stood idly by while his political enemies did as they pleased—one who would switch sides politically without regard for the interests of the city (97–98). Demosthenes is, of course, the hypothetical idler and turncoat, while Demades, whose illegal measures went unprosecuted by Demosthenes—a signal instance of unpatriotic statesmanship on Demosthenes' part (101)—seems to be the *antipoliteuomenos* foremost in the speaker's mind. Of course, Dinarchus would have us understand that Demosthenes' *antipoliteuomenoi* are pawns of Macedonia, and that his failure to oppose them amounts to a kind of treason. Still, the attack in 97–98 seems premised on the notion that politicians must as a matter of principle demonstrate devotion to the public good by opposing the policies of rivals. Thus in politics as in private life it was a virtue to remain true to friends, harsh to enemies, which makes it all the more difficult in the case of Melanopus' *volte-face* to separate the element of καθ' ἑαυτοῦ from that of κατὰ τῆς πόλεως.⁷³

To conclude, then, Anaxandrides uses the invidious image of the foot-anointer to ridicule Melanopus' venality. Slaves in their dealings with their masters, women with their men, and prostitutes with their clients all operated on a basis of asymmetrical reciprocity. The services that they provided and the compensation that they received were an expression of inferior status: Whatever their material gain, socially, they operated at a loss. By casting Melanopus in the role of foot-anointer, one typically filled by slaves, women, and prostitutes, the poet associates the asymmetry of slavery, prostitution, and the like with bribe-taking, and so constructs bribery as an essentially asymmetrical transaction. Put differently, a Melanopus oiling the feet of a rival stoops low indeed, and attaches to his real-life conduct the scorn and disgust aroused by this picture of him as a political pedicure. Considering that under the circumstances Melanopus resembles nothing so much as a *porne*, we can well imagine how an audience would have reacted to the poet's characterization.

Yet it would have been up to the audience to associate Melanopus' reputed conduct with this caricature. For Anaxandrides has constructed a kind of riddle-joke, one that asks: "Why is Melanopus like a foot-anointer?" "Because he lets himself be bribed by his enemy," the audience

⁷³ Cf. Dem. 19. 9–16, where Aeschines' *volte-face* vis-à-vis Macedonia is imputed to bribery. Aeschines responds that individuals and cities must bend to circumstances to achieve τὸ κράτιστον (2. 164); in this we hear echoes of Melanopus' ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἐχθρός, τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως νικάτω συμφέρον. Aeschines then analogizes Demosthenes' allegedly treacherous private dealings with a treasonable nature (2. 165–66). For the intersections of political and personal enmity, see especially P. J. Rhodes, "Personal Enmity and Political Opposition in Athens," *G&R* 43 (1996) 21–30. Rhodes, it should be pointed out, also explores some interesting cases of socio-political "fence mending."

thinks as it makes the connection between image and referent. Thus Anaxandrides does not so much suggest a way of looking at bribe-taking as appeal to what must have been a widespread aversion to the kind of bribe-taking described by Plutarch, an aversion rooted in an ethic that condemned the voluntary abridgment of civic autonomy and prescribed helping friends, not selling out to enemies. And even allowing for what could have been rampant venality in the classical Athenian polis,⁷⁴ and a double standard to go with it,⁷⁵ one rather doubts that Athenians would have adopted an indulgent attitude toward any form of political bribe-taking—certainly not if what was taken resembled a bribe, a *quid pro quo* with humiliating implications for the taker of the *quid*.

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⁷⁴ Though Harvey (above, note 2) 89–102 rightly points out that the evidence on extent is inconclusive.

⁷⁵ Strauss (above, note 56) in particular explores a “wink–nudge” ambiguity between gifts and bribes.

The *Amores* of Propertius: Unity and Structure in Books 2–4

JAMES L. BUTRICA

From the thirteenth century to the nineteenth, manuscripts first and then editions unanimously presented the elegies of Propertius in four groups labelled Books 1–4. In 1816, however, Karl Lachmann challenged that arrangement with three arguments: (1) that certain passages in Ovid and Fulgentius implied that some lines had been lost; (2) that Propertius 2. 13. 25–26,

sat mea sat magna est, si tres sint pompa libelli
quos ego Persephona maxima dona feram,

are inconceivable anywhere but in the poet's third book of elegies; and (3) that 2. 10 could only have appeared at the beginning of a new book dedicated to Augustus.¹ Accordingly he made 2. 10 the beginning of a

¹ *Sex. Aurelii Propertii Carmina*, ed. by K. Lachmann (Leipzig 1816) xx–xxiii. The following works will be cited by author's name (or author's name and abbreviated title) only: T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen* (Berlin 1882); B. K. Gold, "Propertius 3. 9: Maecenas as *Eques, Dux, Fautor*," in *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome*, ed. by B. K. Gold (Austin 1982); B. K. Gold, *Literary Patronage in Greece and Rome* (Chapel Hill 1987); M. Hubbard, *Propertius* (New York 1975); S. J. Heyworth, "Propertius 2. 13," *Mnem.* 45 (1992) 45–59; S. J. Heyworth, "Propertius: Division, Transmission, and the Editor's Task," *PLLS* 8 (1995) 165–85; G. O. Hutchinson, "Propertius and the Unity of the Book," *JRS* 74 (1984) 99–106; R. O. A. M. Lyne, *The Latin Love Poets from Catullus to Horace* (Oxford 1980); E. P. Menes, "The External Evidence for the Division of Propertius, Book 2," *CP* 78 (1983) 136–53; D. Ross, *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry* (Cambridge 1975); O. Skutsch, "The Second Book of Propertius," *HSCP* 79 (1975) 229–33; B. L. Ullman, "The Book Division of Propertius," *CP* 4 (1909) 45–51; W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom*, *Hermes Einzelschriften* 16 (Wiesbaden 1960); M. Wyke, "Written Women: Propertius' *scripta puella*," *JRS* 77 (1987) 47–61; and the editions or commentaries of Rothstein (Berlin 1898), Butler and Barber (Oxford 1933), W. A. Camps (Book 2, Cambridge 1967; Book 3, Cambridge 1966; Book 4, Cambridge 1965), P. J. Enk (Book 2, Leiden 1962), P. Fedeli (Book 3, Bari 1987; complete text, Stuttgart 1984), and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA 1990). Texts and translations are my own. The literature on most of the Propertian poems treated here is considerable; it has therefore been necessary to limit citation to the most important or most recent discussions, and the already substantial bulk of this study precludes detailed refutation of all contrary opinions. The content of the first part of this paper was originally presented at the 1982 annual meeting of the American Philological Association under the title, "The Propertian Corpus in Antiquity"; oral versions of the entire paper were presented at a conference for the retirement of Alexander McKay at McMaster University in 1990 and (as part of a paper entitled "The Art and Architecture of Propertius") at the Leeds International Latin Seminar in 1993. Thanks are owed to all who made constructive

new third book, and this disposition largely held the field,² except in editions which treated the text still more roughly,³ until 1880, the *annus mirabilis* as Housman called it, when Arthur Palmer and Emil Baehrens independently⁴ restored the division into four books, which has prevailed ever since. Soon after, however, Theodor Birt offered the first serious investigation of the ancient citations of Propertius, and claimed that they supported Lachmann's division into five books.⁵ Subsequent discussions of these citations have been dominated by this issue, and have concentrated upon the debated division of Book 2 to the exclusion of what those citations can tell us about Propertius' own arrangement of his elegies.⁶ Lachmann's theory has enjoyed a renewed popularity and has even been declared "fact" by the most recent editor of Propertius.⁷ Meanwhile the mistaken notion that Books 1–3 were published together has achieved a comparable currency, especially among Ovidian scholars discussing connections between Propertius and the *Amores*.⁸

This paper has two parts. The first offers a new interpretation of the evidence furnished by the ancient citations, arguing that Propertius' four books circulated as two works, a one-book collection called *Cynthia*, now

comments on those occasions, as to the *ICS* referees as well; none of these, however, could save me from such delusions as remain.

² The principal exceptions are Paldam (Halle 1827) and Hertzberg (Halle 1843–45).

³ Carutti's (The Hague 1869), for example, which rearranged and redistributed the elegies.

⁴ In fact their independence was perhaps not absolute; Palmer, who visited Groningen in 1878, mentions in his preface "suavia colloquia cum Aemilio Baehrensis de rebus Propertianis et Catullianis habita" (*Sex. Propertii Elegiarum Libri IV*, ed. by A. Palmer [Dublin 1880] vi).

⁵ Birt 413–26.

⁶ As can be seen, for example, in the titles of the articles by Menes and Skutsch (above, note 1).

⁷ Goold 16: "But the fact is that Propertius composed five books of elegies, our Book Two being the extant remains of two books." For other sympathetic opinions, cf. Hubbard 41: "Lachmann reasonably inferred that we have in Book II the remains of two books, one certainly defective, one perhaps complete"; L. Richardson, Jr., *Propertius Elegies I–IV* (Norman 1977) 20: "It looks as though Book 2 might be a conflation of the beginning of one book and the end of another"; J. P. Sullivan, *Propertius: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge 1976) 7: "the three books that presently comprise our Books 2 and 3"; Heyworth, "Propertius: Division" 165–71. Two authors have independently tried to resolve the problem (in favour of division) on purely literary grounds, J. K. King, "Propertius 2. 1–12: His Callimachean Second 'libellus,'" *WJA* 6 (1980) 61–84 and B. A. Heiden, "Book-Division within Propertius Book II," *QUCC* 11 (1982) 151–69. Both, along with Heyworth and Goold, would begin the new book at 2. 13 rather than at 2. 10. P. Keyser's "The Length and Scansion of Propertius II as Evidence for Book Division," *Philologus* 136 (1992) 81–88, argues weakly against a division.

⁸ The suggestion was first made by G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968) 480–95; see also J. A. Barsby, "The Composition and Publication of the First Three Books of Propertius," *G&R* 21 (1974) 128–37; I. M. Le M. Duquesnay, "The *Amores*," in *Ovid*, ed. by J. W. Binns (London 1973) 1–48, on the unity of *Amores* and their likeness to Propertius 1–3 (6: "Perhaps the most significant aspect of the *Amores* when viewed as a single collection is Ovid's obvious desire to recall to the reader the first three books of Propertius"); and note the cautious acceptance in *Ovid. Amores*, ed. by J. C. McKeown (Liverpool 1987) I 90: "Ovid is perhaps inviting comparison with Prop. 1–3." Skutsch 229 refuted the idea by noting that 2. 24. 2 *toto Cynthia lecta Foro* shows that "the Cynthia Book was published before Book II" and that Propertius is hardly likely to have dedicated the first book of such a collection to the obscure Tullus and only the second to Maecenas.

known as Book 1, and a three-book collection comprising Books 2–4, probably called *Amores*. The second attempts to bolster that interpretation with internal arguments for the unity of the presumed Propertian *Amores*.

I

Ancient evidence for how Propertius arranged his four books is relatively plentiful, but it must be noted that the numbering of the books given by the manuscript tradition is not part of that evidence: The archetype contained no titles of any sort and did not even name the author.⁹ This means that none of the headings found in the manuscripts originated in antiquity with the author himself. The habit of referring to “Book 1,” “Book 2,” and so forth is so deeply ingrained (and enshrined in lexicæ and reference works) that it cannot be emphasized too strongly that these designations utterly lack manuscript authority. Two mediaeval manuscripts survive. Of these N (Wolfenbüttel Gud. lat. 224, written perhaps around 1200) begins simply with the phrase, “Incipit Propertius”; even this, however, was not copied along with the text but was added later by the second scribe (who, of course, recovered the poet’s name from the text, as the simple “Propertius,” rather than “Sextus Propertius,” suggests); this second hand itself finished with a simple “Explicit Propertius.” There are no other titles at all, and the fact that no space was provided for them (except at the start of Books 3 and 4) strongly suggests that the exemplar likewise had none. The second mediaeval copy, the Leiden fragment A (Universiteitsbibliotheek Voss. lat. O. 38, written about 1240 and extant only as far as 2. 1. 63), is the first manuscript to offer titles for the work as a whole and for individual poems, and the first to give a fuller form of the poet’s name. Its general title, “Incipit monobiblos propercii aurelii naute ad tullum,” has been patched together from two sources: “Ad tullum” comes from 1. 1. 9, “Monobiblos” from the lemma to Martial 14. 189 (on which see below). The title affixed to 2. 1. 1, “Incipit liber secundus ad mecenatem” (that is, presumably, “the second book of the monobiblos”), suggests that its inventor was the first in a long line of scholars to misinterpret monobiblos, for a monobiblos cannot contain a second book (see below). The titles of individual poems in the surviving portion of A are predictably of the *Ad X* variety (but note that their inventor did not read far enough into 1. 14 to find Tullus’ name and so called it *Ad Diuitem*). In the remainder, where A must be reconstructed from descendants, the titles of several elegies are based upon errors impossible in antiquity (2. 22 was called *Ad Heremium*, from a misreading of *here mi* in the first line as the vocative of Heremius; 3. 14 became *Ad Spartum* from a misunderstanding of *Sparte* in the first line as the vocative of Spartus). The name “Propertius Aurelius Nauta” is an equally

⁹ For what follows, see J. L. Butrica, *The Manuscript Tradition of Propertius*, Phoenix Suppl. 17 (Toronto 1984) 24–25.

imaginative creation, combining one of the poet's real names (Propertius), a second name ("Nauta") derived from a corruption of 2. 24. 38 (*navita diues eras*, where all editions now incorporate Beroaldus' conjecture *non ita*), and a third of uncertain origin ("Aurelius," perhaps from proximity to Aurelius Prudentius in an alphabetical catalogue of poets). This name and all the titles can surely be ascribed to Richard de Fournival, for whom the manuscript was copied. To understand how Propertius himself arranged and titled his books of elegies we must rely solely upon the ancient secondary sources.

The first of these is Martial 14. 189, an epigram describing a book to be given as a gift, under the reliably ancient lemma¹⁰ *Monobiblos Properti*:

Cynthia, facundi carmen iuvenale Properti,
accepit famam, nec minus ipsa dedit.

This is generally (and correctly) interpreted as referring to a copy of what we know as Book 1. Cynthia's name begins the epigram exactly as it begins Book 1 (in fact it is likely that "Cynthia" here represents not the poet's mistress but the title of his monobiblos; see below). The reference to "youthful poetry" can be taken in one of two ways, both of which point to Book 1. It might suggest that the work in question is Propertius' earliest work (which would of course be Book 1), or that it is his most ardently "youthful" work and the one most concerned with youthful activity like love (again Book 1). Given the reasonable conclusion that Martial has Book 1 in mind here, the knowledge that he identified that book as "Propertius' Monobiblos" is a vital clue to the arrangement of the elegies, for it shows, first of all, that what we customarily call Book 1 could not have been "Book 1" of anything. Propertian scholars have defined "monobiblos" in many ways: Williams claimed that it was "a small, self-contained section of an author" suitable for a Saturnalia present;¹¹ Menes that it was "a separate and detached part of the original collection";¹² Goold that it was "a collection of the poet's work, and most obviously an anthology";¹³ Heyworth (who suggests that it could have contained the entire Propertian corpus) that it was "a bookseller's edition";¹⁴ Horsfall that it was "a specialised term applied to a specific form of composition,

¹⁰ Happily the antiquity of the lemmata in Book 14 is guaranteed by Martial himself at 14. 2. 3: *lemmata si quaeris cur sint adscripta*.

¹¹ Williams, *Tradition and Originality* (above, note 8) 483. Perhaps he was influenced by the unsupported claim of Enk that "Titulus 'Monobiblos' nihil docet nisi hoc Martialis temporibus nostrum primum librum separatim ab aliis venalem fuisse" (*Sex. Propertii Elegiarum Liber I*, ed. by P. J. Enk [Leiden 1946] 25-26).

¹² Menes 137.

¹³ Goold 17-18.

¹⁴ Heyworth, "Propertius: Division" 178: "the *Monobiblos* will . . . be a bookseller's edition of Propertius"; cf. also 177: "whether it contains all of Propertius' five books or a selection we cannot say."

apparently applicable, unlike 'monograph,' to prose and verse alike."¹⁵ All of these definitions except Horsfall's involve the highly implausible proposition that Martial's versified gift catalogue included whatever random slice of Propertius the bookseller happened to have available. For an accurate definition in a Propertian context one must turn to the overlooked Addenda to the introduction of Butler and Barber's commentary, where the word is correctly defined as a "'single book,' i.e. a work contained in one roll and complete in itself" (lxxxiv). The correct definition can also be found elsewhere, including Luciano Canfora's *The Vanished Library*, where it is called a book "in which a single scroll contains the entire work," that is, a work consisting of one and only one book and therefore occupying a single book roll.¹⁶ Strictly speaking it is an unnecessary coinage, since *liber*, βιβλίον, or βιβλίδιον can convey the same meaning. Its later popularity might be due to simple linguistic "inflation" (cf. the current replacement of "now" by "at this point in time"), but it is also possible that, as terms like *liber* and βιβλίον became virtual synonyms of *opus* and so could signify works comprising several *libri* or βιβλία, it was increasingly employed to distinguish an author's one-book work(s) from his collections, as I believe Martial does here. This meaning of monobiblos is the one that would be expected from etymology (μόνος = *unus*, βίβλος = *liber*) and from analogy with similar compounds such as τρίβιβλος (a work in three books) and τετράβιβλος (a work in four books).¹⁷ It is confirmed from usage in passages where monobibloi or monobibla are contrasted with works comprising more than one book, for which the usual term is σύνταξις, σύνταγμα, or πραγματεία. Thus Jerome, *Epistles* 33. 4. 4 enumerates among the works of Origen *tomos v* (sc. on the *Lamentations* of Jeremiah), *item monobibla*, *Periarchon libros iv*, etc., a five-book work on *Lamentations* (rather than five separate treatises), various single-book works, and a tetrabiblos. The *Suda* entry for the physician Philagrius enumerates his works as "seventy monobibla and many collections besides" (βιβλία ἰατρικὰ μονόβιβλα μὲν ο', συντάγματα δὲ ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα).

¹⁵ N. Horsfall, "Some Problems of Titulature in Roman Literary History," *BICS* 28 (1981) 109.

¹⁶ L. Canfora, *The Vanished Library*, transl. by M. Ryle (London 1989) 187. See also T. Birt, "Zur Monobiblos und zum Codex N des Properz," *RhM* 64 (1909) 393–411, at 393–400; R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1954) 68–69; B. Atsalos, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine. Première partie: Termes désignant le livre-manuscrit et l'écriture* (Thessalonica 1971) 65–66.

¹⁷ As a noun, tribiblos is attested only in the fourteenth century, in the introduction to the *Astronomy* of Theodorus Meliteniotes (τῆς παρούσης συντάξεως, ἥπερ ἀστρονομικὴ τρίβιβλος τοῦνομα); Latin writers prefer simply *libri tres*, Greek writers βιβλία γ', but Galen refers to a τρίβιβλος πραγματεία in his *Ars Medica* (*Opera Omnia*, ed. by C. G. Kühn [Leipzig 1826; repr. Hildesheim 1965] I 408). Tetrabiblos is familiar from the popular "title" of Ptolemy's *Apotelesmatica*; Galen's reference to a τετράβιβλον ἐτέραν at VII 311 Kühn implies the existence of two more; and Michael Psellus calls the first part of the *Digest* a τετράβιβλος σύνταξις. For these compounds, as well as πεντάβιβλος, ἐξάβιβλος, ἐπτάβιβλος, ὀκτάβιβλος, etc., see Atsalos (previous note) 61–65.

Several dozen works are identified in ancient literature as monobibloi, monobibla, or monobiblia. Many of these are philosophical in nature. Olympiodorus' commentary on Aristotle's *Meteorologica* mentions two monobibloi of Aristotle, one *περὶ μετὰλλων* (6. 6), the other *περὶ χυμῶν* (162. 15). The anonymous philosophical *prolegomena* contained in Paris, B.N. gr. 1973 refer to a monobiblion of Aristotle *περὶ οἰκονομίας ἀρίστης* (f. 17b), while the pseudo-Ammonian biography of Aristotle says that he wrote to Alexander *περὶ βασιλείας* in one monobiblos. The catalogue of Aristotle's works preserved at Diogenes Laertius 5. 22–27 does not use the term monobiblos, but it does use numerals to indicate the number of books that each work comprised; this attributes to Aristotle a total of ninety-nine monobibloi, and confirms that the monobiblion *περὶ οἰκονομίας* and the monobiblos *περὶ βασιλείας* mentioned above did indeed consist of a single book. Olympiodorus' commentary on Plato's *Phaedo* mentions a monobiblos by Ammonius on a passage of that dialogue (8. 17); and Ammonius' commentary on the *Prior Analytics* contains extracts from his own monobiblos on hypothetical syllogisms (67. 32). Elias' commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* mentions a monobiblos *περὶ τῶν ἀλόγων γραμμάτων* written by τις τῶν Πυθαγορείων (125. 12). Monobibloi by the Aristotelian commentator Alexander are mentioned by Johannes Philoponus in his commentary on the *Prior Analytics* (13. 2) and by Michael in his commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* (584. 3). Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo* attributes to Ptolemy a monobiblion *περὶ διαστάσεως* (7. 9) and to Straton a monobiblion *περὶ τοῦ προτέρου καὶ ὑστέρου* (8. 418). Nemesius (*De nat. hom.* 584A) says that Iamblichus wrote a monobiblos arguing against inter-species transmigration of souls. Photius refers to a monobiblos *κατὰ Θεοδώρου* by Themistius (cod. 108, 88b39). Proclus in his commentary on Plato's *Republic* says that Naumachius wrote a monobiblos *περὶ τῆς ἀναβιώσεως* (2. 329). He himself wrote several, including *De malorum substantia* and another, mentioned without its title in his *Theologia Platonica*, that has been identified as his *περὶ τῶν τριῶν μονάδων*.¹⁸ Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* 2. 18. 6 identifies six works of Philo as monobibloi: *περὶ προνοίας*, *περὶ Ἰουδαίων, πολιτικός*, *Ἀλέξανδρος* (or *περὶ τοῦ λόγον ἔχειν τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα*), *περὶ τοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι πάντα φαῦλον*, and *περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι*. The essay of Plotinus that Porphyry assembled as *Enneads* 1. 9 may be identified in Elias' commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* as a monobiblos *περὶ εὐλόγου ἐξαγωγῆς*;¹⁹ presumably the other fifty-three sections of the *Enneads* could also be identified the

¹⁸ Proclus, *Théologie platonicienne: Livre III*, ed. by H. D. Saffrey and L. G. Westerink (Paris 1978), "notes complémentaires" to page 43. For the "plusieurs monobibloi" of Proclus, see Damascius, *Traité des premiers principes I: De l'ineffable et de l'un*, ed. by L. G. Westerink, transl. by J. Combès (Paris 1986), "notes complémentaires" to page 86.

¹⁹ See however *Plotini Opera*, ed. by P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzler (Paris and Brussels 1951) I 143 for the difficulty concerning the precise interpretation of Elias' reference.

same way in their original form. Michael Psellus (*De omnifaria doctrina* 115) mentions coming across three monobibloi, one each by Hippocrates, Porphyry, and Galen, on the question of whether an embryo is a living creature. Other works designated as monobibloi are grammatical. According to the scholia to line 322 of Aristophanes' *Plutus*, a certain Dionysius wrote a monobiblos on the use of χαίρειν in conversation and correspondence. Four works of Herodian are identified as monobibloi, one on ὕδωρ, one on ἦν, one περὶ κυρίων καὶ ἐπιθέτων καὶ προσηγορικῶν, and one περὶ τοῦ μὴ πάντα τὰ ῥήματα κλίνεισθαι εἰς πάντας τοὺς χρόνους. In other fields, Galen quotes from Soranus ἐν τῷ μονοβίβλῳ φαρμακευτικῷ (*Ars Medica* [above, note 17] XII 493 Kühn), and Ulpian wrote a monobiblos on the quaestorship (*Lyd. Mag.* 1. 28). According to Syrianus' commentary on the περὶ ἰδεῶν of Hermogenes, the sophist Basilicus wrote a monobiblos περὶ τόπων (57. 7). Still other monobibloi are theological in nature. Photius mentions one by Gelasius κατὰ Ἀνομοίων (cod. 102, 86a13), while the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates mentions one by Adrias on the life of Alexander (4. 23) and another by Athanasius on the life of the monk Antonius (1. 21). Lest anyone think that the term is never applied to a work of poetry outside Propertius, Johannes Lydus in *De magistratibus* 172. 20 quotes a dactylic hexameter from the poet Christodorus ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἀκροατῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Προκλου μονοβίβλῳ. Finally, the *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis* of Du Cange (repr. Graz 1958) s.v. μονόβιβλον contains several references which I have not succeeded in tracking down: one in the letters of Theophylact, at least three in the scholia to Basil (the entry adds "& alibi"), and a μονόβιβλον of Rufus on purgatives. In every case where verification is possible from autopsy or from another ancient source, these monobibloi are all self-contained treatises in a single book; it should be noted that in no case is "monobiblos" the title of the work, and that in no case is the monobiblos an anthology, "a separate and detached part of a collection," or an arbitrarily selected portion of an author's output. The burden of proof therefore lies with those who would assert that "monobiblos" could have a different meaning when applied to the Roman poet Propertius.²⁰

It follows that if "Book 1" was, like these works, a monobiblos, then its author could never have called it "Book 1," and it circulated by its author's choice as an autonomous work that never formed part of a larger collection. Nor was "Monobiblos" its title. Some confusion over this issue is apparent

²⁰ The only exception to monobiblos in the sense of "a work in one book" is the reference in Melito (*PG* V 1216A) and in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (4. 26. 14) to a monobiblos containing the twelve prophets in a single book—a change in usage not wholly unexpected in the age of the codex, when it became possible to collect the contents of assorted rolls within a single volume. These references to monobibloi have been compiled from lexica and from the database of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*; I am also much indebted in this section to my colleague John Whittaker for assistance with bibliography and for guidance regarding the works of the Aristotelian and Platonic commentators.

in Heyworth's discussion when he objects to the identification of Martial's *Monobiblos Properti* as Book 1: "Vergil had not called his *Bucolica* a *Monobiblos*, nor Horace his *Iambi*—why should the young Propertius choose such a name? Surely it is only in contrast to a series of books that the name has any sense."²¹ The point of course is that these works, like many others, were monobibloi whether or not their authors used the designation. Monobiblos was not a title, only a term of convenience used to distinguish such works from those in more than one book, like "one-reeler" in the early history of the cinema. Propertius himself seems to suggest that the title of his monobiblos was *Cynthia* (2. 24. 2 *et tua sit toto Cynthia lecta Foro*); this may be confirmed from Martial's reference to Cynthia as a *carmen* of Propertius. It follows further that, if the *Cynthia* could be identified without further qualification as "Propertius' Monobiblos," then Propertius could have written only one monobiblos, just as Ptolemy's *Apotelesmatica* could be known as his "Tetrabiblos" because he wrote only one work that comprised four books. And there is yet another logical consequence, for if Propertius wrote four books of elegies but only one monobiblos, then the remaining three books must have been published together in a three-book collection or tribiblos, since three cannot be further subdivided without creating another monobiblos.

The status of the so-called Books 2–4 as a syntagma is confirmed by two citations in ancient scholars. In the age of Nero, the poet and metrician Caesius Bassus used 2. 1. 2 as his Propertian example when demonstrating how a dactylic pentameter whose first two feet are dactyls can be turned into a choriambic by the addition of two long monosyllables; later Charisius, in noting that Propertius used the normally masculine *pulvis* as a feminine noun, cited only 2. 13. 35 in preference to the other examples at 1. 22. 6 and 4. 9. 31. Both writers bypassed examples in Book 1; this would be highly irregular if Propertius' four books were either a single tetrabiblos or four monobibloi (Bassus' Tibullan illustration of the same transformation comes from 1. 1, not 2. 1). In addition, both chose an example in Book 2 over examples in later books, precisely as they would do if they acknowledged Book 2 as the beginning of a collection which embraced Books 3 and 4 as well. Thus Martial, Bassus, and Charisius offer consistent and generally early evidence pointing to a single conclusion, that the elegies of Propertius—and it goes without saying that this must represent authorial intent—comprised two distinct works, the monobiblos which we mistakenly call Book 1, and the tribiblos comprising the equally misnamed Books 2–4. When Bassus and Charisius mined Propertius for illustrations, they followed the normal and logical practice of ancient grammarians by exploiting a longer work in preference to a shorter.²²

²¹ Heyworth, "Propertius: Division" 175.

²² For the grammarians' habits discussed in this and the next paragraph, see Skutsch 232–33.

Attempts to minimize the significance of these citations are unconvincing. Menes has argued that "there is something quirky" about Bassus' choice of examples, observing that in his discussion of the hendecasyllable "he draws on Horace *Odes* 4. 1. 1, 1. 1. 1-2, and 1. 11. 1 for his illustrations" but "would have been as well served by 1. 3. 1 instead of 4. 1. 1" (Menes 140). But this alleged "quirkiness" is in fact nothing less than an observance of the original form of the *Odes* as a tribiblos (1-3) and a separate and distinct monobiblos (4); to see Bassus respecting Horace's own original arrangement of the *Odes* enhances his credibility rather than diminishing it. When a particular example became "over-exposed" in the literature (such as 1. 1. 1 would be), grammarians sought alternatives; here Bassus took his from Horace's monobiblos of odes, in much the same way that he adduced Catullus 2. 1 in preference to the much-cited 1. 1 to illustrate a hendecasyllable with a spondaic opening. This is another of Menes' examples of alleged quirkiness, but the apparatus of Mynors' and Thomson's editions of Catullus will confirm the popularity of 1. 1; Propertius of course was not cited often enough for grammarians to be forced to resort to the *Cynthia* as an alternative to the tribiblos. As to Charisius, Menes suggests that the example of feminine *pulus* at 1. 22. 6 could have been missed because it occurs "at nearly the end of the book" (141)—as though an ancient grammarian lacked the studiousness or fortitude to research his sources thoroughly—and further suggests that the citation might be only a random choice from an intermediate source which offered a range of illustrations. Heyworth's suggestion that Caesius Bassus took his example from Book 2 rather than Book 1 because "perhaps his girlfriend had borrowed the first book of elegies" reflects an even more dismissive attitude regarding the diligence of ancient *grammatici*. But it is surely a most remarkable coincidence that two authors, of whom one could have chosen his example from Book 1, 2, or 4 and the other could have taken his from any of the four books, independently fell upon the one from Book 2: remarkable, that is, if Books 2-4 did not form a syntagma and if these scholars (or their sources, should one choose to play that game) did not follow the observed practice of ancient *grammatici*.

These conclusions about Bassus and Charisius were originally made by Birt over a hundred years ago, confirmed by Ullman at the turn of the century, and restated by Skutsch in the 1970s; but they have had little impact upon mainstream scholarship. One reason has perhaps been that those scholars used their observations to advocate Lachmann's division of Book 2 at a time when that division was largely discredited; a second is certainly the unnecessary confusion introduced by a further ancient citation. Nonius Marcellus, in citing 3. 21. 14 for the verb *secundare*, attributes it to *elegiarum libro III*^o. Birt assumed that the *libri elegiarum* implied by Nonius' method of citation were identical to the syntagma from which Bassus and Charisius must have cited; he then argued that this syntagma must have consisted originally of four books rather than three if 3. 21

appeared in its third book, and contended further that this confirmed Lachmann's hypothesis that Book 2 combines the remains of two originally separate books. But his arguments rest upon a false assumption. *Libri elegiarum* is neither a title, like *Cynthia* or *Amores*, nor a term of the booktrade, like monobiblos; it is simply a generic description of the kind of poetry Propertius wrote, and there is certainly no reason to suppose that *libri elegiarum* could designate a syntagma in opposition to a monobiblos which is itself a *liber elegiarum* (it is also worth observing that *elegiarum* in Nonius is unnecessary—and therefore suspect—since Propertius wrote nothing except elegies). Rather than by arguing that the number "III" in Nonius is corrupt,²³ the discrepancy between Martial, Bassus, and Charisius on the one hand and Nonius on the other can best be explained by supposing that Nonius reflects a later stage in the transmission,²⁴ where the originally separate status of the two collections had been obscured in the transition from rolls to codex format; while Martial and Bassus and Charisius (or his source) knew the *Cynthia* as a monobiblos occupying its own roll and the *Amores* as a tribiblos on three more rolls, Nonius (or his source) consulted a codex which combined the two works as four *libri elegiarum*. A similar fate certainly befell Horace's *Odes* at an uncertain date,²⁵ and how such a format might influence the way in which originally separate works were perceived can be illustrated from the manuscript tradition of Seneca's *Dialogues*. Bibl. Ambrosiana C 90 inf., a late eleventh-century Beneventan copy, begins with an index of contents which L. D. Reynolds in the introduction to his Oxford Classical Text suggests was copied from an ancient exemplar. There the contents are listed as "Dialogorum Libri Num .XII.," or "Twelve Books of Dialogues." This of course is not "a dodecabiblos of dialogues" but "dialogues comprising twelve books in all"; moreover, these twelve books represent only ten separate works, the discrepancy being due to the fact that nine of the dialogues are monobibloi while one (*De Ira*) is a tribiblos, thus making a total of twelve original rolls or "books." If we imagine an ancient codex of Propertius with a similar index under a heading such as "Elegiarum Libri Num .IV." it becomes easy to see how Nonius (or a source) might have been led to regard the *Cynthia* and the three-book syntagma as four undifferentiated books of elegies.

²³ For considerations of the number's reliability, see Ullman 46; Skutsch 231; Menes 142–43; Goold 18; Heyworth, "Propertius: Division" 178–81.

²⁴ Note that the evidence of Martial and Bassus takes us within a century or so of Propertius' lifetime and thus is a priori more likely to reflect his original intention than later custom.

²⁵ It may be worth noting that Nonius (203. 29 M) cites Horace, *Carm.* 4. 14. 27 as coming from "Carminum lib. IV"; Priscian, Eutyches, and Marius Victorinus also assign lines from that book to the fourth book of *carmina*. Marius further exemplifies the agglutinative process suggested here for Propertius by referring to the *Epodes* as Book 5 of the *Odes* (GL VI 169 Keil *Libro V, qui epodon inscribitur*).

More boldly, and more speculatively, one might suggest that *elegiarum libro III^o* in the manuscripts of Nonius is nothing less than a corruption of the reference that we would expect in contrast with Martial's monobiblos: [*elegiarum*] *tribiblo*. This could well have been abbreviated [*elegiarum*] *IIIBiblo*, which requires little more than the easy substitution or corruption of Latin *libro* for *biblo* and a change of word order to become what we find in Nonius.

It remains to deal with the arguments advanced in favour of dividing Book 2. Lachmann's own suggestions do not survive examination. Two pieces of evidence are supposed to show that lines have been lost from our text. The first comprises Fulgentius' two alleged citations of Propertius, *catillata geris uadimonia*, *publicum prostibulum* and *diuidias mentis conficit omnis amor*; the fact that the former of these is manifestly false casts suspicion upon the latter as well. The second is Ovid, *Tristia* 2. 465, *inuenies eadem blandi praecepta Properti*. Our text of course contains no instructions of the sort implied, but Ovid's statement, like much of *Tristia* 2, can be dismissed as special pleading which ruthlessly distorts the work of a safely dead author. Nor could 2. 10 make a very satisfactory introduction to a book of poetry dedicated to Augustus, since only a little way into it Propertius is already backing off and protesting his incapacity to write what he has just promised (2. 10. 21 ff., cited below). Finally, the argument from 2. 13. 25–26 entails two difficulties. First, the elegy containing these lines refers not to the present but to the future (2. 13. 17 *quandocumque igitur nostros mors claudet ocellos*), and so they describe not what Propertius has written so far but what he would like to have written before he dies; hence they may appropriately appear in the first book of the tribiblos as an "announcement" of its eventual dimensions. Second, the tendency to think of Propertius' cortege as factual rather than hypothetical has been abetted by an incorrect restoration of 25. The archetype gave this line in the corrupt form (accepted nonetheless by Hanslik) *sat mea sit magna si tres sint pompa libelli*. The generally accepted emendation *sat mea sat magna est si tres sint pompa libelli* can hardly be right; the single indicative form *est* (which it must be remembered is a conjectural emendation in any case) has no place among the subjunctives which Propertius consistently uses here to convey his instructions (19 *spatietur*, 20 *sit*, 21 *sternatur*, 22 *sit*, 23 *desit* . . . *adsint*): Only with the instructions to Cynthia in 27–30 does he change tense and mood (to future indicative, not present) before returning again to the subjunctive.²⁶ Given then that the transmitted *sit* seems secure, the likeliest restoration is perhaps *sat sit magna, mihi si tres sint pompa libelli*.²⁷ Goold adds that Book 2 is significantly longer than any other

²⁶ Heyworth, "Propertius: Division" 165 n. 1 observes: "For indicative in apodosis, subjunctive in epistasis, cf. 2. 5. 16"; but the issue is not whether this combination is possible but whether *est* ought to be "restored" in the first place.

²⁷ The conjecture seems to originate with Franciscus Maturantius, scholar-scribe of Rome, Bibl. Casanatense 3227.

Augustan poetry book and that "the fragmentary nature of much of its contents obliges us to postulate a considerable amount lost in lacunae, so that in its original form this section of the poet's work must have filled on a conservative estimate over 1500 lines" (Goold 16). An alternative explanation which accounts for both the inordinate length and the "fragmentary" state of the text is to suppose that Book 2 has been disturbed by interpolations rather than by lacunae.

No theory about the publication of Propertius' elegies can be entirely free of uncertainty, but the one offered here satisfies more of the evidence than any other, with little or no special pleading: It respects the testimony of Martial and the overwhelmingly predominant meaning of "monobiblos"; it respects the logical deduction that Propertius could have written only one monobiblos; it respects the important and early testimony of Caesius Bassus and its confirmation from Charisius; it respects the manuscripts' division of the corpus into four books rather than five; and it also accommodates rationally the evidence of Nonius Marcellus.²⁸ It has as well the further advantage of being supported by internal evidence of unity and design.

II

Certain postulates are fundamental to the following discussion of unity in the tribiblos. First, Propertius' elegies are not discrete entities but are meant to be read together in a linear progression for cumulative meaning; each elegy, each book in fact, is only one element of the tribiblos and achieves its full significance only when read in sequence together with all the other elements. Of course such a linear reading is virtually demanded by the format of the ancient bookroll, which offered little scope for browsing back and forth. Moreover, Propertius' *Cynthia* already reveals a sophisticated appreciation of how juxtaposition and cross-reference can establish connections among poems and thereby enhance meaning in a linear reading. The Ponticus elegies, 7 and 9, are a case in point. In the former Propertius predicts that Ponticus will one day fall in love, in the latter the prediction has become fact; we have no foreknowledge of 9 when we read 7, but we are certainly meant to recall 7 when we read 9. (The Gallus elegies, 10 and 13, have a similar relationship.) Propertius' technique is analogous to that of the collage, where elements assembled from different sources illustrate a

²⁸ Contrast the conclusion offered by Heyworth, "Propertius: Division" 181: "My interpretation of the evidence is then as follows: the five books of Propertius circulated together in antiquity; by chance Book I is never cited by later writers; Nonius in citing 3. 21. 14 attributed it to *elegiarum liber IIII*; this reading was copied from the archetype by the scribe of L but corrupted to *III* in the other branch and subsequently in L." This interpretation requires accepting an unattested meaning of monobiblos; assumes error in the book-division of the Propertian tradition; assumes error in the transmission of Nonius; assumes that Caesius Bassus just happened to miss the *Cynthia*; and assumes that Charisius just happened to do the same, thus dismissing four of the five principal pieces of evidence as either error or coincidence.

single theme from different perspectives, but it is more structured, at least linearly, in that his collage is meant to be "read" in only one direction. There is no narrative thread as such, and no "message" or "meaning" is spelled out explicitly; rather the reader is left to extract the cumulative meaning from the multiple resonances created by sequence, juxtaposition, echoing, or cross-reference within the whole.²⁹ Second, a self-conscious poet, when he discusses his craft, deserves a serious and respectful hearing. It has become fashionable to view Propertius' programmatic elegies as variations of the so-called *recusatio*, a literary category with no basis in ancient theory,³⁰ to reduce all of them to the expression of essentially a single sentiment (Propertius' refusal to produce poetry for the new regime), and even to regard them as politically motivated evasions rather than expressions of a literary programme;³¹ a second kind of homogenization has occurred in the synthetic analyses of these programmatic elegies that fail to consider their position or sequence.³² A novelty of this paper is that it will—for the first time, it seems—offer a reading of these elegies (chiefly 2.

²⁹ I fully endorse the views set forth at Hutchinson 99–106 (for example, "Meaning . . . is not always confined within the individual poem; a part of the poet's meaning can be contained in the relations between the poems in a book"), but I extend the principle to the three-book collection as a whole, which constitutes a continuous discourse where no single element possesses its full meaning without reference to the others. See also Hutchinson 99–100 for further examples of Propertian elegies which presuppose awareness of other elegies in a collection, and for more on 1. 7–9 within the sequence constituted by 1. 6–14, see J. L. Butrica, "Two Two-Part Poems in Propertius Book 1 (1. 8; 1. 11 and 12)," *PLS* 9 (1996) 83–91.

³⁰ For Propertius and the *recusatio*, see now A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton 1995) 472–75. Rather than as variations of a literary "form," the passages where Propertius and other Augustan poets express similar choices in formally similar terms (Virgil in *Ecl.* 6, Horace in *Carm.* 4. 15, for example) should be regarded as independent (but sometimes interrelated) imitations of the prologue to the *Aetia*, where Callimachus proclaimed his choice of poetic style and content. The already ill-defined concept of *recusatio* has been twisted and stretched in recent scholarship almost to the point of meaninglessness, so that poems like 2. 1, where Propertius says that he would write a kind of epic if he could, and 4. 1, in which epic is not at issue, have been called *recusationes*; even a whole book has been so designated (see Sullivan [above, note 7] 138–39 for Book 4 as "Propertius' ultimate *recusatio*").

³¹ For example, Lyne 148 asserts that for Propertius Callimacheanism is only a "graceful, witty, civilized means of saying no." The Callimachean model involved an aesthetic rather than a political choice, and the same is true of Propertian programmatic elegies as well; but the political interpretation has been imposed by scholars who cannot accept that a currently fashionable poet like Propertius could have been anything but hostile to the currently unfashionable imperialist despot Augustus. The entire book devoted to this kind of political interpretation (H.-P. Stahl, *Propertius: Love and War: Individual and State Under Augustus* [Berkeley 1985]) illustrates passim how such an approach leads to distorted interpretations. The "unfulfilled" promises of 2. 10, for example, appear much less sinister when in the context of the entire tribbles it becomes clear that they are in fact fulfilled by poems like 3. 11 and 4. 6 and others. In any case, it would seem the purest self-destructive folly for Propertius always to be advertising his opposition in this way if the political climate was as oppressive as Stahl assumes; it is also difficult to believe that Propertius was under constant danger when Ovid managed to publish the more risqué *Amores* not once but twice, and was punished only a decade after the later and even more risqué *Ars Amatoria*.

³² For some synthetic interpretations of this kind, see Chapter 8 of G. Luck, *The Latin Love Elegy* (London 1959); G. Lieberg, "Die Muse des Properz und seine Dichterweihe," *Philologus* 107 (1963) 116–29, 263–70; and Wimmel passim.

1, 2. 10, 3. 1–3, 3. 9, and 4. 1) that respects both their literal meaning and their chronology, arguing that they yield a coherent depiction of the evolution of a poetic *persona*.³³ It is accordingly assumed that protestations of inadequacy for the grand style can also be regarded seriously and literally rather than as further politically motivated evasions. In most branches of art criticism (except the study of Latin poetry, it seems) it is recognized that large-scale and small-scale forms do indeed require different talents and that artists who excel in both are the exception rather than the rule: Schubert writing *The Ring of the Niebelung* is as inconceivable as Wagner writing *The Trout*, and for neither was the nature of his talent a political choice. An elegist's reluctance to attempt epic need not mask political opposition.³⁴

The structure of the tribiblos can be illustrated more economically than its meaning. Of course the most obvious structural element is the division into three books, to which Propertius himself surely alluded when he wrote about the *tres libelli* that he would like to take with him to Hades. To reinforce this symmetry he begins each book with an extended and explicit programmatic elegy of a kind unknown to the *Cynthia*; all of these elegies concern the same issues, namely the nature of Propertius' talent and the direction of his poetry, and do so in the same terms, with Roman epic and learned Hellenistic elegy being cast consistently as the alternatives to love elegy. There is a less obvious division of the tribiblos into halves. It has long been an object of curiosity that Maecenas, if he was Propertius' patron, should be addressed only twice in the entire corpus, in the prominent 2. 1 and in the somewhat out-of-the-way 3. 9.³⁵ The reason seems to be that, while 2. 1 begins the tribiblos and dedicates it to Maecenas, 3. 9 marks the beginning of its second half (as well as an important stage in the development of Propertius' *persona*; see below). In the text as transmitted, the lines from 2. 1. 1 to the end of 3. 8 total 1,690, while those from 3. 9. 1 to the end of 4. 11 total 1,602—a difference of only 88 lines (the blocks may originally have been even more closely matched in length, given the number of lacunae and interpolated lines that undoubtedly figure in our text, especially in Book 2). A third structural element consists of two parallel series of related poems dealing with attempted rejections of Cynthia and their consequences, the first in the early part of Book 2 (2. 10–14), the second extending from the end of Book 3 through most of Book 4; as will

³³ Something comparable, though in less depth and finding less coherence, was attempted by G. D'Anna, "L'evoluzione della poetica properziana," in *Bimillenario della morte di Propertio: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Properziani* (Rome and Assisi 1985) 53–74.

³⁴ The political interpretation of 2. 1, for example, has been bolstered by claims that Propertius deliberately shows himself a competent epic poet even as he denies the capacity. Gold, *Literary Patronage* 159 speaks of the catalogue in 2. 1. 27–34 as "an attempt to write epic" and "an example of a mini-epic"; Stahl too (above, note 31) claims that 27–34 demonstrate Propertius' proficiency in epic, but the problems of structure, action, and characterization in epic are worlds apart from the composition of an 8-line catalogue.

³⁵ Gold, "Propertius 3. 9" 103, for example, describes the elegy as "an anomaly, a program poem which does not start off the book."

be shown later, the first attempt fails quickly, while the second finds a partial success at the poetic, though not at the erotic, level.

If Propertius the consummate obsessed lover is the obvious unifying element of the *Cynthia*, the chief unifying element of the tribiblos is Propertius the poet, for his self-definition as poet and the conflicting claims of three kinds of poetry—love elegy for Cynthia, Ennian historical epic for Augustus, and imitation of learned Hellenistic elegy—dominate and articulate the structure of the collection. It must be emphasized, however, that here, no less than in the *Cynthia*, Propertius' self-representation is precisely that: the creation of a *persona* that might or might not coincide with his actual development as a poet. A linear reading of the programmatic elegies in the tribiblos has much to contribute to our understanding of Propertius and his relationship to Callimachus. The famous self-identification as *Callimachus Romanus* (4. 1. 64), which has so often been taken out of context and assumed to have general validity, has contributed to the mistaken belief that everything in Propertius is Callimachean, even the Cynthia-poetry;³⁶ but the literal, consecutive, non-homogenized approach taken here suggests what will seem to some the heretical conclusion that Propertius presents himself as a Callimachean poet in the strictest sense—that is to say, as someone who produced self-conscious imitations of specific works by Callimachus—only in the final book and even there only tentatively,³⁷ and that for Propertius Callimachean elegy is almost as antithetical to love elegy as Ennian epic (the qualification “almost” being necessary only because Callimachean elegy, unlike epic, is at least in the same metre as the Cynthia-poetry). Because the issue of Propertius' Callimacheanism is so important to the following discussion, and because the perception that he was a “Callimachean poet” throughout

³⁶ Wyke, for example, says that “Cynthia and Callimachus are inseparable” (49) and that “the text even encourages the reader to interpret the title ‘Cynthia’ as a key Callimachean term in the Propertian poetics” (59), and represents Callimacheanism as a political choice: “Poems 2. 10–13 thus form a group which re-establishes an allegiance to a politically unorthodox, Callimachean poetic practice” (60). She was certainly influenced by the claim of W. Clausen, to be discussed below, that the adjective *Cynthius* constitutes a reference to Callimachus. Ross too takes it as given that the Cynthia-poetry is Callimachean (for example, “it is his love poetry that makes him a Callimachean” [115]—even though Callimachus never wrote anything resembling the love poetry of Propertius), and this perhaps distorts his account of Propertius' development even more than his insistence upon interpreting it in the light of a highly implausible reconstruction of Gallus' lost poetry. For Lyne, Propertius in Book 3 “elaborates his claim to Callimachean pedigree with great detail and (I think) humorous speciousness . . . ; what he does is, in effect, equate Callimacheanism with his own sort of love poetry” (136). The notion of Propertius the Callimachean is so ingrained that a study of the hexameters of Propertius and Callimachus—which (ironically enough) finds essentially no Callimachean influence—nonetheless speaks of “il callimachismo di Propertio, da interpretare certamente come scelta di vita oltre che di poesia” (V. Viparelli Santangelo, *L'esametro di Propertio: Rapporti con Callimaco* [Naples 1986] 8).

³⁷ Hubbard 70–71 is an outstanding exception among recent scholars in suggesting a point close to the one made here: “It is only in Book III . . . that he asks for initiation into Callimachus' rites, only in Book IV that he hopes his Umbria will be known as the home of the Roman Callimachus.”

his career is so deeply entrenched, an excursus on the Callimacheanism of Book 1 seems appropriate.

That Propertius' entire *Cynthia* is a book of Callimachean poetry has frequently been asserted or assumed but never demonstrated in detail. Many considerations make the claim inherently unlikely. For example, the only poet singled out for admiration here is Mimnermus (1. 9. 11); even leaving aside the question of whether any of Mimnermus' poetry was criticized in the prologue of the *Aetia*, this seems odd for a book of supposedly Callimachean poetry, especially since in Books 2–4 Propertius repeatedly names Callimachus as an actual or potential model. (The attention to Propertius as a Callimachean poet has also obscured the fact, to be discussed in more detail later, that Propertius nearly always names Philitas together with Callimachus in these passages; the fact that so much more of Callimachus survives than of Philitas has probably abetted significantly the perception that Propertius is Callimachean rather than Philitean.) Moreover, Books 2–4 contain a number of prominently placed programmatic elegies; yet Book 1 not only contains no such programmatic elegy, it features a close imitation of Meleager in the position most favoured for such elegies in Books 2–4 (see below). In addition, as will be argued in more detail later in the discussion of 3. 1, it is only at the beginning of Book 3 that Propertius begins to talk, not about *being* a Callimachean poet, but about *becoming* one. Finally, it is only at the beginning of Book 4 that Propertius claims the title of *Callimachus Romanus*.

The view that Propertius was already a Callimachean poet in his first published work seems to rest upon three props. The first is an inappropriate retrojection of that title *Callimachus Romanus* advanced in 4. 1. 64. But this title is not meant to have universal validity, and is claimed only in the context of composing the Roman *Aetia* proposed in the same passage: Propertius requests the aid of Bacchus in his endeavour *so that* Umbria, as birthplace of the Roman Callimachus, may swell with pride in his work (*nī folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua, / ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Vmbria libris, / Vmbria Romani patria Callimachi* 4. 1. 62–64).

The second is the conviction that the very name “Cynthia” constitutes a Callimachean allusion. This is based upon the claim made by Wendell Clausen in “*CYNTHIUS*” (*AJP* 97 [1976] 245–47) that Κύνθιος as an epithet of Apollo is distinctly and uniquely Callimachean. Clausen noted that the epithet was used earlier, in periphrastic expressions designating Mt. Cynthus, in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (17), in Aristophanes (*Nu.* 596), in Euripides (*IT* 1098), and in *AP* 15. 25. 12 (he might also have mentioned Pindar, *Paean* 12. 8 and Lycophron 574), but he asserted that its application to Apollo himself was unique to Callimachus and indeed was his “invention.” The very next year, however, Clausen published his overlooked correction, “*CYNTHIUS*: An Addendum” (*AJP* 98 [1977] 362), in which he reported that J. E. G. Zetzel had informed him that Apollo is

addressed as Κύνθιε in a fragment of Posidippus (= *Supplementum Hellenisticum* 705. 9). Forced by this to admit that the epithet is clearly not “exclusively Callimachean,” even in reference to Apollo, and to acknowledge that priority can not be established securely (“the chronological relationship between the two poets [*sc.* Callimachus and Posidippus] cannot be exactly determined”), Clausen nevertheless continued to maintain that the epithet was originally Callimachean, on the grounds that Virgil regarded it as Callimachean (by which he presumably means that Virgil employed it in contexts that contain imitations of Callimachus) and “may not have known Posidippus’ poem.” The unbiased observer will see that his reasons for insisting upon Callimachus’ priority represent nothing more than wishful thinking, supported by what amounts to a mind-reading act which purports to describe the emotions of Horace and Callimachus (e.g., “it is tempting to imagine Callimachus reading this line [*sc.* the one in which Posidippus used Κύνθιε] with emotions not unlike those of Horace when he read Propertius 3. 2. 19 ff.”). There seems to be little reason to doubt that Virgil found the title in Callimachus, that he was the first Roman poet to use it, and that subsequent occurrences in Horace, Ovid, and “Lygdamus” can be attributed to his influence; but the evidence for making it a Callimachean “invention” at all, much less something distinctively Callimachean that screams “Callimachus” wherever it is used, is tenuous indeed. In fact, Mt. Cynthus is so well attested as the birthplace of Apollo, and the epithet is so well attested in reference to that mountain, that it seems improbable that Greek literature had to wait so many centuries for a poet to transfer the epithet to the god himself; it is worth noting that in one Pindaric occurrence of the epithet (fr. 60b Snell, col. 2. 14; again in the *Paeans*, and again missed by Clausen) the noun modified by the epithet has been lost, leaving open the possibility that Callimachus and Posidippus depend upon Pindar. Another issue that must be addressed is the relation that is supposed to exist between *Cynthius* as a distinctly Callimachean epithet of Apollo and *Cynthia* as the name of Propertius’ *domina* or as the name of his monobiblos. For any connection to exist, we must assume that Propertius intended *Cynthia* as a feminine form derived from *Cynthius* and thus meaning “Apolline.” But Apollo had a sister who shared his birthplace and who is therefore frequently called *Cynthia* in Latin poetry: How does the reader of Propertius know that Cynthia is not a divine name alluding to Artemis/Diana but the feminine form of Apollo’s “distinctively Callimachean” epithet? In fact the parallel case of *Cynthia* as epithet of Artemis/Diana helps to illuminate the case of *Cynthius* as epithet of Apollo. The former is never attested in Greek literature, much as the latter is attested there only in Callimachus and Posidippus; but both are relatively common in Latin poetry. If we interpret the evidence for *Cynthia* as rigidly as Clausen interpreted the evidence for *Cynthius* when he argued that its application to Apollo originates with Callimachus (leaving aside for the moment the possibility that Posidippus used it first) because there are no

earlier occurrences in Greek poetry, we will have to suppose that *Cynthia* is an invention of Horace, who is apparently the first Latin poet to use it. But the inherent absurdity of this should be apparent; it is far more likely that we have simply lost the Greek contexts in which Artemis was called *Cynthia*, just as we have lost most of the Greek contexts in which Apollo was called *Cynthius*. An even more instructive parallel is the case of *Daulias* (as in *Daulias auis*, meaning the nightingale), recently discussed by Gianpiero Rosati at *CQ* 46 (1996) 214–15, with notes 36 and 39. As Rosati observes, the epithet is not found in extant Greek poetry but does appear with a certain frequency in Latin poetry, first at Catullus 65. 14, then (rather curiously) in a series of texts whose authorship is disputed: *Ciris* 200, *Epicedion Drusi* 106, [Ovid] *Epistulae Heroidum* 15. 154, [Seneca] *Hercules Oetaeus* 192. Pfeiffer, somewhat diffidently (“*ludere possis*” is how he put it), suggested restoring it in Callimachus fr. 113. 2 (δαυ[λιάδες]). If it were attested securely in Callimachus, no doubt it would be identified as a Callimachean coinage, with consequences for the interpretation of the works that contain it; except that, as Rosati points out, we have the explicit testimony of Thucydides that the epithet was widely used in Greek poetry (2. 29. 3 πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ἀηδόνοσ μνήμῃ Δαυλιάς ἢ ὄρνις ἐπωνόμασται) to show that we have simply lost all of those early occurrences.

The third, and perhaps most influential, prop has been the conviction that 1. 18 contains significant reminiscences of the Acontius and Cydippe episode of the *Aetia*, as argued by Francis Cairns.³⁸ Cairns began by repeating the observation, already anticipated by others, that Propertius 1. 18. 21–22 (*a quotiens teneras resonant mea uerba sub umbras / scribitur et uestris Cynthia corticibus!*) “resembles” fr. 73 Pfeiffer of the *Aetia*, which self-evidently comes from the Acontius and Cydippe episode (ἀλλ’ ἐνὶ δῇ φλοιοῖσι [Bentley: φύλλοισι codd.] κεκομμένα τόσσα φέροιτε / γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὅσ’ ἐρέουσι καλὴν). It will be noted that there are no close parallels in expression (Propertius states a fact, Acontius a wish) or in diction (*scribitur* can hardly be regarded as an echo or imitation of γράμματα). The sole resemblance resides in the conceit of a lover writing the name of his beloved in the bark of a tree—something that young men and women have done for ages without necessarily having read Callimachus; indeed, the scholiast to Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 144 who has preserved the couplet remarked that writing the names of beloveds on walls or trees or “leaves” (his text of the fragment of course read φύλλοισι) was ἴδιον ἐραστῶν. Cairns went on to cite other “verbal echoes” in addition to this one, all, it should be added, from the paraphrase contained at Aristaenetus, *Epistles* 1. 10 rather than from any of the other 106 lines from the episode (excluding fr. 73) printed by Pfeiffer. (This of course raises the complication that the resemblances could in fact be between

³⁸ “Propertius i. 18 and Callimachus, *Acontius and Cydippe*,” *CR* 20 (1969) 131–34.

Propertius and Aristaenetus, not Callimachus.) The first contains two parts, (a) and (b). Of these (a) is the stronger, probably the strongest of all, the resemblance between the fanciful question that Acontius asks about the lovelife of trees (ἄρα κὰν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ ἔρως καὶ πίτυος τυχὸν ἡράσθη κυπάριτος) and Propertius' speculation *si quos habet arbor amores / fagus et . . . pinus* (1. 18. 19–20); (b) amounts only to a shared mention of beeches. Cairns' second echo consists of the epithets ἡδύφωνος and *argutus* applied to birds; while both refer to sounds, they emphasize different qualities, "sweetness" in the Greek, "clarity" in the Latin. The third echo consists of a fanciful wish in Aristaenetus ("would that you trees had mind and voice so that you might say 'Cydippe is fair'") set against Propertius 1. 18. 31, a more realistic wish that the forests might echo his own cries of "Cynthia." Moreover, it can be argued that this is only the same resemblance between fr. 73 and Propertius 1. 18. 21–22 with which Cairns began, since the passage of Aristaenetus invoked is none other than his paraphrase of fr. 73 itself. In fact the words that in Aristaenetus follow those quoted by Cairns (ἢ γοῦν τσαῦτα κατὰ τῶν φλοιῶν ἐγκεκολαμμένα φέροιτε γράμματα) were used by Pierson to confirm Bentley's correction of φύλλοισι in that fragment to φλοιοῖσι, as printed above. The fourth echo involves the description of Acontius as μαραινόμενος τὴν χροιάν, set against Propertius 1. 18. 18 *an quia parua damus mutato signa colore?*; but the pallor of lovers is another well-established conceit of ancient erotic literature. The fifth echo involves a passage in which Aristaenetus says of Acontius: "The nights brought only tears, not sleep, to the youth. Being ashamed to weep by day, he husbanded his tears for the nights . . . He was afraid to show himself to his sire, and used to go into the countryside on any excuse, shunning his father." Propertius 1. 18. 1–6 says nothing about weeping by night or about deliberately avoiding a father (or anyone else, for that matter) and speaks only of pouring forth grief in a quiet and uninhabited place; Aristaenetus, on the other hand, does not associate Acontius' weeping with the countryside, and sends him there only to avoid his father. Both men wept, and both spent some time in the country, but only Propertius wept in the country.

Such is the evidence on which the case for Propertius' imitation of the Acontius and Cydippe episode has been based. Cairns himself conceded (133): "It might be argued that most of the correspondences claimed are *loci communes* and hence coincidental. They are indeed commonplaces." With this I heartily concur. But he went on to argue that "the sheer number of correspondences of situation and detail appears to me to be too great to be accidental." I would counter that they are by no means as numerous or as compelling as Cairns suggests. But a further point must be made. Even when one grants that Propertius did have a direct acquaintance with the *Aetia* in general and with this episode in particular (and the fame of the poem, of the author, and of the episode would make it hardly possible for him not to), and even if Propertius did, as Cairns argued, model his personal

situation in this elegy after the situation of the love-sick Acontius, this does not make him a "Callimachean" poet any more than writing *Ulysses* makes Tennyson a Homeric poet. To be a Callimachean poet he must write in a Callimachean style or in Callimachean forms or profess Callimachean ideals in Callimachean imagery; he does none of these in Book 1, and does them only later, when he is explicitly professing to follow Callimachus.

It is instructive to compare the degree of resemblance that Cairns has claimed between Propertius 1. 18 and the Acontius and Cydippe episode with the degree of resemblance between Propertius 1. 1. 1-4 and the first four lines of an epigram of Meleager preserved as AP 12. 101:

τόν με Πόθοις ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ στέρνοισι Μυίσκος
 ὄμμασι τοξεύσας τοῦτ' ἐβόησεν ἔπος·
 "τὸν θρασὺν εἶλον ἐγὼ· τὸ δ' ἐπ' ὀφρύσι κείνο φρύαγμα
 σκηπτροφόρου σοφίας ἦνίδε ποσσὶ πατῶ."

The Propertian lines, with echoes of Meleager italicized, are:

Cynthia prima suis miserum *me cepit ocellis*
contactum nullis ante *Cupidinibus*;
 tum mihi *constantis* deiecit *lumina fastus*
 et caput impositis *pressit Amor pedibus*.

Here the correspondences are numerous, detailed, and precise. In Propertius 1. 1. 1-2 *Cynthia . . . me . . . ocellis* answers exactly to με . . . Μυίσκος . . . ὄμμασι, while *cepit* reflects εἶλον. Propertius' *contactum nullis . . . Cupidinibus* comes from Πόθοις ἄτρωτον. The third-person depiction of Cupid in 3-4 is based upon the first-person claims of Myiscus, with *constantis . . . lumina fastus* coming from φρύαγμα σκηπτροφόρου σοφίας and *pressit . . . pedibus* from ποσσὶ πατῶ. Apparently there is a good deal more of Meleager here than there is of Callimachus in 1. 18.

But the question of defining the Propertius of Book 1 as a Callimachean poet is really only a matter of degree. If we wish to call him a Callimachean poet because certain commonplaces shared between 1. 18 and an episode of the *Aetia* might show direct acquaintance with that poem, we may do so, as long as we also call him a Meleagrian poet because of his imitation of AP 12. 101 and, for that matter, a Theocritean poet because of his imitation of *Idyll* 13 in the Hylas elegy. He was a Callimachean poet in the same sense in which virtually everyone else of that era was as well, for a similar or even greater degree of "Callimachean influence" can also be traced in Catullus, in Tibullus, in Virgil, and in Horace; this would be better defined as a pervasive Alexandrianism than as a specifically and self-consciously Callimachean presence.³⁹ If, however, we wish to call

³⁹ Note the conclusion reached by G. Pascucci, "Il Callimachismo stilistico di Propertio," in *Bimillenario* (above, note 33) 199-222, that "è riduttivo considerare Callimaco il modello stilistico di Propertio; ce ne sono altri, da individuare nell'area della poesia alessandrina e

Propertius a Callimachean poet in the sense that his work here is exclusively, or even only primarily, Callimachean in inspiration, we need more than a handful of shared commonplaces, and we need to address the difficulties raised earlier, such as why someone who is allegedly a self-consciously Callimachean poet in his earliest work must in his later work ask Callimachus himself how to become one. One would in fact be hard pressed to demonstrate any sustained emulation of Callimachus here.⁴⁰ The style is not Callimachean, but strongly influenced by Catullus (and, one suspects, other elegiac predecessors like Varro, Calvus, and Gallus); it is only later, when he is speaking explicitly of imitating Callimachus, that Propertius begins to evolve toward a kind of Callimachean intellectual abstraction in his expression. One would be equally hard pressed to detect imitation of Callimachean forms in the *Cynthia*. Virgil imitated Theocritus in the context of pastoral poetry, Hesiod and Aratus in the context of didactic, Homer in the context of epic; yet Propertius here writes elegies of a kind not written by Callimachus, and does not write epigrams, the only kind of personal erotic poetry that Callimachus did essay. It is only when Propertius is explicitly imitating the *Aetia* in Book 4 that he composes elegies that approximate to episodes of that poem (or indeed to anything else that Callimachus wrote). Virgil's imitations of Theocritus and Hesiod also contain significant and obvious imitations of Callimachus in programmatic contexts, in *Eclogues* 6 and *Georgics* 3 respectively. Whether these indicate that his poems are actually intended to be Callimachean rather than or as well as Theocritean and Hesiodic is open to question; but again Propertius restricts his obvious imitations of Callimachean programmatic statements to the phase of his work which is expressly Callimachean, and none are found in the *Cynthia*.

We may now return to Books 2–4. The artistic development depicted here in the tribiblos can be described roughly as comprising three stages: In Book 2 Propertius is a poet of raw talent inspired solely by his love of Cynthia, in Book 3 he aspires to become instead an imitator of Hellenistic Greek elegy, and in Book 4 he tries to realize these aspirations while resisting Cynthia's persistent influence. His self-definition as poet takes centre stage in the programmatic elegies that stand at the beginning of each book, at the end of Book 2, and at 3. 9, where the second half of the tribiblos begins. The first of these is 2. 1, which introduces all the major literary and erotic themes of the collection; naturally one looks to the opening lines for a significant statement (2. 1. 1–16):

quaeritis unde mihi totiens scribantur Amores,
unde meus ueniat mollis in ora liber?

segnatamente nella poesia epigrammatica"; see also G. Giangrande, "Propertius: Callimachus Romanus?" in *Atti del Colloquium Propertianum (Secundum)* (Assisi 1981) 147–67.

⁴⁰ I fully endorse the view of G. D'Anna (above, note 33) that "la poetica della Monobilos [sic] non appare dunque callimachea" (56).

non haec Calliope, non haec mihi cantat Apollo:
 ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit.
 siue illam Cois fulgentem incedere †cogis †, 5
 hac⁴¹ totum e Coa ueste uolumen erit:
 seu uidi ad frontem sparsos errare capillos,
 gaudet laudatis ire superba comis:
 siue lyrae carmen digitis percussit eburnis,
 miramur facilis ut premat arte manus: 10
 seu compescentes⁴² somnum declinat ocellos,
 inuenio causas mille poeta nouas:
 seu nuda erepto mecum luctatur amictu,
 tum uero longas condimus Iliadas.
 [seu quicquid fecit siue est quodcumque locuta, 15
 maxima de nihilo nascitur historia.]⁴³

Propertius begins with an imaginary question from his readers: How does he come always to be writing *amores*? The presence of this word here, ending the first line much as *Cynthia* began the first line of the monobiblos, is of course the best evidence for proposing *Amores* as the title of the tribiblos; indeed both Jacoby and Giardina have already suggested, with greater and lesser certainty respectively, that *amores* serves here as a title.⁴⁴ To this supposed query Propertius replies that his poetry comes not from conventional sources of inspiration like Apollo and Calliope but from Cynthia herself and her appearance and behaviour.⁴⁵ This bold programmatic statement should be treated with the respect its prominent position demands, and without preconceptions derived from our knowledge that Propertius will go on to invoke the shade of Callimachus and eventually lay claim to the title *Callimachus Romanus*. First of all, the opposition between Cynthia on the one hand and Apollo and Calliope on the other as figures of inspiration is structurally important for the entire tribiblos, and especially for the conflict between Cynthia-poetry and the other kinds of poetry which Propertius aspires to write. Second, Propertius is emphatically not a Callimachean poet here; he explicitly denies the involvement of Apollo, who dictated Callimachus' stylistic preoccupations in the *Aetia* prologue, and of Calliope, who served as informant in the same

⁴¹ The correction of Barth and Kuinoel for the transmitted *hoc*.

⁴² Leo's correction of the manuscripts' *cum poscentes*.

⁴³ This clumsy and prosaic summary of the previous lines should be ejected from the text as an interpolation (according to Smyth's *Thesaurus criticus ad Sexti Properti textum*, Heydenreich reported that they were deleted by Gruppe).

⁴⁴ F. Jacoby, "Zur Entstehung der römischen Elegie," *RhM* 60 (1905) 72: "Ich bin geneigt . . . hierin [sc. in 2. 1. 1] einen Buchtitel zu sehen, und habe darum das an bevorzugter Stelle stehende *Amores* mit grossen Anfangbuchstaben geschrieben"; *Sex. Properti Elegiarum Liber II*, ed. by G. C. Giardina (Turin 1977) 90: "fort. prope tituli uice fungitur."

⁴⁵ To regard Cynthia here as a Muse or Muse-like figure (cf. especially Lieberg [above, note 32]) spoils Propertius' structurally important contrast of "natural" and "inspired" poetry. Martial applied this Propertian concept to Gallus at 8. 73. 6 *ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris erat*.

poem. Instead, by attributing his poetry to Cynthia's words and deeds and looks and even clothes, he depicts himself as precisely what romantic criticism made him, a poet whose work springs immediately from personal experience. Callimachus is not mentioned, nothing is said about avoiding the highway or muddy waters, there are no colloquies with the Muses, no Callimachean images at all in fact; the farfetched claims to detect references to him (such as the suggestion that *causas* in 2. 1. 12 alludes to the *Aetia*)⁴⁶ are their own best refutation. In fact, as was argued above, the reader who comes to the tribiblos from the *Cynthia* has no reason to associate Propertius any more closely with Callimachus than with Theocritus or Meleager or Mimnermus; Callimachus' actual appearance in 2. 1. 39–40 (see below) amounts to nothing more than a casual allusion. Moreover, the way in which Propertius presents himself here not as a divinely inspired poet directed by Apollo or the Muses but as a poet of *ingenium*, an *ingenium* created entirely by Cynthia, makes him a highly implausible candidate for "Callimacheanship." Ancient literary criticism opposed *ingenium*, or "native talent," to *ars*, or "technical proficiency."⁴⁷ One who is a poet by virtue of *ingenium* hardly qualifies as Callimachean, for Callimachus himself was recognized as pre-eminent in *ars* but deficient precisely in this quality of *ingenium* (cf. *Ov. Am.* 1. 15. 14, quoted in note 47).

⁴⁶ So J. F. Miller, "Disclaiming Divine Inspiration: A Programmatic Pattern," *WS* 99 (1986) 151–64; the point was anticipated by J. E. G. Zetzel, "Recreating the Canon: Augustan Poetry and the Alexandrian Past," *Critical Inquiry* 10 (1983) 92, and is assumed by M. Wyke, "Reading Female Flesh: *Amores* 3. 1," in *History as Text*, ed. by Averil Cameron (London 1989) 136–37. Further claims made by some or all of these authorities include: that *Iliads* of 14 alludes to the writing of epic; that *historia* in 16 alludes to the writing of history (an odd alternative for a poet); that *laudatis . . . comis* in 8 alludes, by a bilingual pun, to *concomia* (this disregards the different quantities of the o-vowels in ἐγκώμιον and κόμη; disordered hair seems an odd occasion for praise-poetry in any case, though perhaps no stranger than Cynthia's somnolence as a cause for aetiology—it is more likely that aetiology would provoke that somnolence); that *lyrae* in 9 alludes to lyric poetry (though this would of course make Cynthia, not Propertius, the poet); and that the Coan silks of 6 allude to Philitas. This last point raises the question of how one tells when Coan silks are a literary symbol and when they are just a see-through dress. R. Thomas, in "Callimachus Back in Rome," in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds.), *Callimachus*, Hellenistica Groningana 1 (Groningen 1993) 197–215, has suggested that "Prop. 1. 2, with its metaphorical play on Coan silk and the like might suggest a greater programmatic importance" for Philitas in Propertius (198); but if the silks in 1. 2. 1–2 are indeed metaphorical, then Propertius is complaining to Cynthia there not about her expensive and revealing taste in clothing but about her pleasure in being celebrated in his Philitean poetry (note the presence of the key stylistic term *tenuēs*!).

⁴⁷ For the opposition, see Cicero's famous assessment of Lucretius *multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis* (*Q. Fr.* 2. 9. 3); Hor. *Ars* 295–96 *ingenium miserum quia fortunatus arte / credit* (sc. Democritus), with Brink's commentary; *Ov. Tr.* 2. 424 *Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis*; and for Callimachus himself *Am.* 1. 15. 14 *quamvis ingenio non ualet, arte ualet*, with McKeown's commentary; for prose, see Quint. *Inst.* 1. 8. 8 *quamquam plerique plus ingenio quam arte ualuerunt*, 10. 1. 40 *ingeniosis quidem sed arte carentibus*. Propertius himself makes the contrast only once, at 2. 24. 23 *contendat mecum ingenio, contendat et arte*; the implication that Propertius possesses *ars* as well as *ingenium* does not invalidate the point made here, for *ars* to some degree characterizes all poetry: Propertius is asserting his superiority to his rival in both categories rather than claiming possession of a specifically Callimachean *ars*.

This "preCallimachean" Propertius next addresses the concerns of his patron Maecenas by describing the sort of poetry he would write if he were capable of writing epic (2. 1. 17–38):

quod mihi si tantum, Maecenas, fata dedissent ut possem heroas ducere in arma manus, non ego Titanas canerem, non Ossan Olympo impositam ut caeli Pelion esset iter,	20
nec ueteres Thebas nec Pergama, nomen Homeri, Xerxis et imperio bina coisse uada, regnaue prima Remi aut animos Carthaginis altae Cimbrorumque minas et benefacta Mari:	25
bellaque resque tui memorarem Caesaris, et tu Caesare sub magno cura secunda fores.	
nam quotiens Mutinam aut, ciuilia busta, Philippos aut canerem Siculae classica bella fugae euersosque focos antiquae gentis Etruscae et Ptolemaei litora capta Phari	30
aut canerem Aegyptum et Nilum, cum attractus in Urbem septem captiuis debilis ibat aquis, aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra Via,	35
te mea musa illis semper contexeret armis, et sumpta et posita pace fidele caput. [Theseus infernis, superis testatur Achilles hic Ixioniden, ille Menoetiaden.] ⁴⁸	

This passage is the first of a series that will explore the alternatives to love poetry and will eventually culminate in the Callimachean aetiological poetry of Book 4; for now, however, the alternative is historical epic, and the implied model is not Callimachus but Ennius.⁴⁹ Of course Propertius' talent, being the creation of Cynthia, cannot compass any other subject; but he asserts that, if things were otherwise and he *could* write epic, his subject would not be a *Gigantomachy* or a *Thebaid* or an *Iliad* or historical themes from the Greek or Roman past but the *bellaque resque* of Octavian. Accordingly there follows a survey of Octavian's less than admirable career⁵⁰ culminating in four lines devoted to the glorious triumph over

⁴⁸ An intrusive and irrelevant couplet rightly deleted by Fontein, Struve, and half a dozen others.

⁴⁹ The explicit contrast of Ennius and Callimachus is reserved for the programmatic poems 3, 3 and 4. 1.

⁵⁰ This passage has provoked suspicion that Propertius is trying to embarrass Octavian by recalling disgraceful episodes from his past; Gold, *Literary Patronage* 160 and 166, for example, speaks of Propertius "needling" Augustus. For a particularly extreme statement, see N. Wiggers, "A Reconsideration of Propertius II,1," *CJ* 72 (1977) 334–41: "the reference to the Perusine War disrupts the otherwise chronological list of events . . . : the spectre of Perugia emerges unexpectedly, as if Propertius has tried to suppress, but could not bring himself to censor, his own memory of the sacrilege committed there. More obviously [*sic!*], the allusion to desecrated hearths (*euersos focos* 29) accuses Augustus of impiety toward god and man" (336). Such reactions are inappropriate for two reasons. First, any account of Octavian's rise

Antony and Cleopatra, where a foreign foe was at last available. While the battle of Actium will be treated somewhat dismissively at 2. 15. 41–46 and still later in Book 2 will be left to Virgil (2. 34. 61–62), it is commemorated in a major elegy of Book 3 (3. 11) and in the poem that forms the very centrepiece of Book 4 (4. 6); thus Propertius will fulfill the pledge made here, not in an epic poem, but in elegies compatible with his status as an elegist and with his advancing stylistic competence.

But this pledge that he would celebrate the achievements of Augustus if he possessed the talent for writing epic is immediately negated by a reaffirmation of his status as an elegist (2. 1. 39–46):

sed neque Phlegraeos Iouis Enceladique tumultus intonat ⁵¹ angusto pectore Callimachus,	40
nec mea conueniunt duro praecordia uersu Caesaris in Phrygios condere nomen auos: [nauita de uentis, de tauris narrat arator: enumerat miles uulnera, pastor oues.] ⁵²	
nos contra angusto uersantes proelia lecto ⁵³	45
.....	
qua pote quisque, in ea conterat arte diem.	

Callimachus' first appearance in Propertius' poetry is an offhand remark that amounts to little more than "Callimachus doesn't do it; and in any case neither can I." This cannot be taken as a major statement of affiliation by a writer who makes his real declarations in the obvious and emphatic terms of

to power had little choice but to include these episodes: His career so far had comprised little else, apart from the far worse and absolutely unmentionable proscriptions and the armed intimidation of the Senate. Second, a skillful panegyrist can whitewash almost anything. A poem on the siege of Perugia, for example, could lay chief blame upon L. Antonius and Fulvia. It could also follow the story that made an unbalanced citizen responsible for the city's destruction: so Appian, *BC* 5. 49 and Vell. 2. 74. 4, who makes the incendiary Macedonicus (Appian calls him Cestius) fall on his sword and leap into the flames—what a tableau for a poem!—then has the city sacked "more because of the soldiers' anger than because of Octavian's will"; even Dio, who reports the rumour of human sacrifice after the victory, does not blame Octavian for destroying Perugia. A poem on the debacle at Modena and its aftermath could represent Octavian as saving the state in time of crisis (or restoring it to liberty from "the domination of a faction," as he put it in his *Res Gestae*); one on Philippi could blame Caesar's assassins for the *ciuilis busta* that resulted from avenging the murder they committed, and so on. For Propertius and Perugia, see I. M. Le M. Duquesnay, "IN MEMORIAM GALLI: Propertius 1. 21," in *Author and Audience in Latin Literature*, ed. by T. Woodman and J. Powell (Cambridge 1992) 78–83. For the alleged anti-Augustanism of 2. 1, see, most recently, R. A. Gurval, *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* (Ann Arbor 1995) 167–79.

⁵¹ A Renaissance conjecture for the transmitted *intonet*, persuasively advocated by S. J. Heyworth, "Notes on Propertius Books I and II," *CQ* 34 (1984) 399.

⁵² Another probably intrusive couplet which, like 15–16 and 37–38, offers an unnecessary restatement of the poet's meaning.

⁵³ The obviously defective syntax of this couplet is usually repaired by adopting the Renaissance conjecture *uersamus*, but the assumption of a lacuna after 45 is less abrupt. Moreover, *contra* ("on the other hand," "on the contrary") follows more naturally after 41–42, which state what Propertius will not do, than after 43–44, which enumerate behaviours analogous to his own.

poems like 3. 1, 3. 3, 4. 1, and 4. 6, especially given that Callimachean critical motifs are in short supply here. Propertius' use of *intonare*, however, shows that he is not unaware of an important Callimachean programmatic context, the prologue to the *Aetia* with its famous pronouncement βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ Διός (fr. 1. 20 Pfeiffer); the Dream that follows in that same prologue will figure prominently in 2. 34 and 3. 3. It was important to Propertius' larger structure to mention Callimachus here as one of the constellation of three figures, representing three poetic alternatives, featured in the major programmatic elegies that open each book: Cynthia, currently the source of his inspiration and so determining his status as love poet; Ennius, the model for the promised historical epic honouring Octavian (here only implied, but in 3. 3 Propertius will dream that he could be the Augustan Ennius, and only in 4. 1 will he decisively reject Ennius in favour of Callimachus); and Callimachus, whose aetiological elegy will eventually provide the form wherein Propertius, while remaining an elegist, can produce patriotic poetry that is ideologically equivalent to the hypothetical Ennian epic. The "story" of the tribiblos is on one level the conflict between Cynthia-poetry and the need or ambition to attempt other kinds of poetry; before the dream of 3. 3 that alternative is an Augustan epic (this, of course, is completely inconceivable in terms of metre and temperament), after the dream it is emulation of Alexandrian learned elegy (this is at least feasible, though difficult and dry). This conflict is intimately bound to the conflict within the "relationship," as difficulties and disappointments with Cynthia inevitably drive the poet, who claims that his talent depends upon Cynthia, to seek other artistic outlets. The passing reference to Callimachus here thus prepares the way in a sense for the future developments that will lead to the Roman *Aetia* of Book 4. In any case Callimachean precedent is only a secondary reason to the one enumerated in 45–46, that each person must toil at what he does well; in Propertius' case this is loving and writing poetry from the experience, and so he effectively returns to the position he had affirmed at the poem's start.

In the elegy's remaining lines Propertius turns from the poetry generated by his experience of love to that experience itself. The unity of the poem, which some have doubted, lies in the fact that the themes broached here, such as death in love, are found interwoven with the themes of inspiration and poetry not only here but in several other programmatic contexts as well (especially 2. 13 and 4. 7); we have in fact a poem that lays out the major structural themes of the entire tribiblos (it may also be worth noting that the last pentameter, ending *fatum dura puella fuit* seems to echo the first, *ingenium . . . ipsa puella facit*) (2. 1. 47–78):

laus in amore mori: laus altera, si datur una⁵⁴
posse frui: fruar o solus amore meo!

⁵⁴ So Heinsius for the transmitted *uno*.

[si memini, solet illa leues culpae puellas et totam ex Helena non probat Iliada.] ⁵⁵	50
seu mihi sunt tangenda nouercae pocula Phaedrae (pocula priuigno non nocitura suo), seu mihi Circae pereundum est gramine, siue Colchis Iolciacis urat aena focus,	
una meos quoniam praedata est femina sensus, ex hac ducentur funera nostra domo.	55
omnes humanos sanat medicina dolores: solus Amor morbi non habet artificem.	
tarda Philoctetae sanauit crura Machaon, Phoenicis Chiron lumina Phillyrides,	60
et deus extinctum Cressis Epidaurius herbis restituit patriis Androgeona focus, ⁵⁶ Mysus et Haemonia iuuenis qua cuspidē uulnus senserat, hac ipsa cuspidē sensit opem:	
hoc siquis uitium poterit mihi demere, solus Tantaleae poterit tradere poma manu.	65
dolia uirgineis idem ille repleuerit urnis ne tenera assidua colla graentur aqua, ⁵⁷ idem Caucasea soluet de rupe Promethei bracchia et a medio pectore pellet auem.	70
quandocumque igitur uitam me ⁵⁸ fata reposcent et breue in exiguo marmore nomen ero, Maecenas, nostrae spes inuidiosa iuuentae, et uitae et morti gloria iusta meae,	
si te forte meo ducet uia proxima busto, essedā caelatis siste Britanna iugis taliaque illacrimans mutae iace uerba fauillae: "huic misero fatum dura puella fuit."	75

Propertius begins in 47–48 by asserting first the glory of dying while a lover; then he specifies a particular condition which contributes to that glory (if one is able to enjoy a single love throughout), and further wishes that he might enjoy the ideal state of being Cynthia's sole lover, even as she is his. It is not certain whether the women of 51–54 are imagined as trying to poison Propertius or to work erotic magic on him,⁵⁹ but it is clear at least that the lines look back to 47–48 and suggest that Propertius intends to live up to the ideal of loyalty unto death which they expressed. The next section (57–70) explains how this is possible: Love is the only illness which cannot

⁵⁵ A charming couplet, but quite irrelevant here and rightly deleted by Carutti.

⁵⁶ This reference, which concerns resurrection rather than healing, probably belongs either at the end of the exempla as a climax (unlikely, since nothing emphasizes the miraculous nature of this particular "cure") or not at all.

⁵⁷ This couplet is rendered suspect by the overly emphatic *idem ille*, the inexplicable future perfect *repleuerit*, and the banal motive given for the action.

⁵⁸ An early correction of the transmitted *mea*.

⁵⁹ Phaedra's original attentions to Hippolytus were of course frankly erotic, while *pereundum est* and *urat* can both suggest love as well as literal death and burning.

be cured, and anyone who could help Propertius would also be capable of relieving the punishments of some celebrated sufferers. He seems here to define his love as a *uitium*, though one from which he does not shrink, unless we are to read a pointed message in the Tantalus exemplum, where freeing Propertius from this *uitium* is equated with feeding Tantalus, i.e. giving him something desirable which has long eluded his grasp. (The fact that the following two exempla are significantly less apt—their common element seems to be ending the suffering of famous criminals—may strengthen the suspicions expressed in note 57.) In the poem's conclusion, Propertius addresses to Maecenas the pathetic plea that, when he has been laid to rest in his tomb, his patron pause there a moment, should he find himself in the neighbourhood, and reflect sentimentally that Cynthia caused his doom. Here Propertius introduces the motif of the lover's burial, exploited again, generally in programmatic contexts, in 2. 11, 2. 13, 3. 16, and 4. 7, and the motif of the epitaph, for the quasi-epitaph to be uttered here by Maecenas is the first of a series for both Propertius (2. 13) and Cynthia (4. 7). That epitaph implies that by her cruelty or kindness the *puella* exercises the power of life and death over the unhappy poet; only later will Propertius realize that his *ingenium* gives him a comparable power over her.

Propertius' self-representation in 2. 1 involves a paradox that has implications for the entire *tribiblos*. He has denied the capacity for writing epic, on the grounds that his *puella* creates his talent, but he has defined his relationship with her as a sort of epic in which their love-making constitutes "long *Iliads*." This epic dimension of the affair is exploited above all in Book 2, where Propertius and Cynthia are frequently compared to such epic figures as Achilles, Hector, Helen, Briseis, Odysseus, and Penelope (in fact the only allusion to such characters in the *Cynthia* is a passing reference to Odysseus at 1. 15. 9). Already in 2. 3 Cynthia is a second Helen, *digna quidem facies pro qua uel obiret Achilles* (39). In 2. 8 and 2. 9 we have a pair of poems involving epic paradigms. In 2. 8, Propertius raging over the loss of Cynthia is like Achilles raging over the loss of Briseis and losing Patroclus in the process (29–36). In 2. 9, Cynthia is neither the patient Penelope awaiting Odysseus (3–8) nor the faithful Briseis mourning Achilles (9–14). In 2. 20. 1–2 the weeping Cynthia is compared to Briseis and to Andromache. In 2. 22. 29–32 Propertius compares his own ability to handle two love affairs to Achilles going from Briseis' embrace to defeat the Trojans and Hector rising from Andromache's bed to attack the Greek ships. And when he anticipates his death and burial in 2. 13, he avers that his tomb will be as famous as that of Achilles (2. 13. 37–38). Only in Book 2 does Propertius so consistently use epic figures as analogues for himself and for Cynthia; by thus affiliating his love affair generically with epic, yet denying the capacity to write epic poetry, he is setting the stage for what would seem to be an inevitable rejection of this "epic" affair in favour of some other kind of poetry better suited to his talent as an elegist.

When he said that Cynthia created his talent, Propertius recalled only her pleasant side, and the next two elegies explore those charms in some detail. But Cynthia, like the homonymous moon, has her dark side as well, and it too inspires poetry; elegies 5, 6, 8, and 9 all deal with her promiscuity or infidelity. As early as 2. 5 there are suggestions of trouble (2. 5. 1–10, 21–30):

hoc uerum est, tota te ferri, Cynthia, Roma,
 et non ignota uiuere nequitia?
 haec merui sperare? dabis mihi perfida poenas,
 et nobis † aquilo†, Cynthia, uentus erit.
 inueniam tamen e multis fallacibus unam 5
 quae fieri nostro carmine nota uelit
 nec mihi tam duris insultet moribus et te
 uellicet: heu, sero flebis amata diu!
 nunc est ira recens, nunc est discedere tempus:
 si dolor afuerit, crede, redibit amor. 10
 . . .
 nec tibi periuro scindam de corpore uestis
 nec mea praeclusas fregerit ira fores
 nec tibi conexos iratus carpere crinis
 nec duris ausim laedere pollicibus:
 rusticus haec aliquis tam turpia proelia quaerat, 25
 cuius non hederæ circumiere caput.
 scribam igitur, quod non unquam tua deleat aetas,
 "Cynthia forma potens, Cynthia uerba leuis."
 crede mihi, quamuis contemnas murmura famae,
 hic tibi pallori, Cynthia, uersus erit. 30

Having evidence of Cynthia's infidelities, which violate the ideal of exclusive possession expressed in 2. 1. 47–48, Propertius threatens to reject her and to take a literary revenge. The way in which he formulates the rejection (that he will "find a woman willing to become famous in his poetry") goes to the heart of the poet–*domina* relationship, which is founded upon the notion that the poet makes both himself and his mistress famous through his poetry; see also, for example, Tib. 1. 4. 61–66 (with Murgatroyd's note on 63–64), Ov. *Am.* 1. 3. 19–26 (with McKeown's note on 21–24), 1. 10. 59–62, *Ars* 3. 533–36, and see below for the theme elsewhere in Propertius. On this occasion, however, the threatened revenge will bring her only slight discredit, not total oblivion: Her beauty is not denied, only her morality. The scenario anticipates the two attempted rejections of Cynthia that will follow in 2. 10 and in 3. 24 + 25; for now, however, Propertius endures a good deal more disappointment in elegies 5, 6, 8, and 9 before putting such a scheme into action.

He does so in 2. 10, though this is only a false start, not the new beginning imagined by Lachmann (2. 10. 1–20):

sed tempus lustrare aliis Heliconæ choreis

et campum Haemonio iam dare tempus equo,
 iam libet et fortis memorare ad proelia turmas
 et Romana mei dicere castra ducis.
 quodsi deficiant uires, audacia certe 5
 laus erit: in magnis et uoluisse sat est.
 aetas prima canat Veneres, extrema tumultus:
 bella canam quando scripta puella mea est.
 nunc uolo subducto grauior procedere uultu,
 nunc aliam citharam me mea Musa docet. 10
 surge, anime, ex humili iam carmine:⁶⁰ sumite uires,
 Pierides: magni nunc erit oris opus.
 iam negat Euphrates equitem post terga tueri
 Parthorum et Crassos se tenuisse dolet:
 India quin, Auguste, tuo dat colla triumpho 15
 et domus intactae te tremit Arabiae,
 et siqua extremis tellus se subtrahit oris
 sentiat illa tuas postmodo capta manus!
 haec ego castra sequar, uates tua castra canendo
 magnus ero: seruent hunc mihi fata diem. 20

The new poetry that Propertius here declares it is time to write⁶¹ is precisely the celebration of Octavian's *bellaque resque* that in 2. 1 he promised he would provide were he capable of writing epic; here, however, he emphasizes future, not past, accomplishments, for the very good reason that he has no intention of writing such poetry, at any rate not in the hexameters of Ennian historical epic implied here. Recollection of the earlier statement that Cynthia creates his talent raises an important question: With her gone from his life and already "written," can he write any kind of poetry, much less the sort pledged here? Propertius, his *ingenium* still dependent upon Cynthia, is predictably forced to capitulate, and in a sudden about-face he declares himself incapable of writing epic, offering in its place what he calls *uilia tura*; his songs do not yet know even the springs of Ascrea, for Amor has only bathed in the Permessus (2. 10. 21–26):

ut caput in magnis ubi non est tangere signis
 ponitur † hac†⁶² imos ante corona pedes,
 sic nos nunc, inopes laudis conscendere † carmen†,⁶³

⁶⁰ It is better to retain this, the reading of the archetype, than to accept *carmina*, which is either a scribal error of F or a conjecture of Petrarch; there seems to be an intentional and thematically significant contrast between the *humile carmen* of 11 and the *magni oris opus* of 12.

⁶¹ Ross 119 asserts that Propertius is promising "to undertake Augustan epic in his old age" despite acknowledging the poet's repeated use of *nunc* with the present tense. Others have tried to weaken the reality of Propertius' promise by attributing to *quando* (8) a temporal as well as a causal sense (endorsed by Wimmel 194), but the former would require a future perfect, while the present perfect *scripta est* shows that only the causal sense can apply.

⁶² Clearly corrupt, with no plausible remedy suggested.

⁶³ This too is corrupt, and two equally plausible conjectures have been proposed, Passerat's *culmen* and Markland's *currum*.

25

As to the *uilia tura* that Propertius offers Augustus in place of the epic he cannot yet write, commentators rush to explain that incense was “a poor man’s offering” but not to elucidate what it represents in this context; if pressed, most would probably say that it is 2. 10 itself, with its unfulfilled promise. Perhaps, though that would be cheap incense indeed; but perhaps it is the following epigram, which most editions mark as 2. 11 (2. 11. 1–6):

scribant de te alii uel sis ignota licebit:
 laudet qui sterili semina ponit humo.
 omnia, crede mihi, tecum uno munera lecto
 auferet extremi funeris atra dies,
 et tua transibit contemnens ossa uiator,
 nec dicet "cinis hic docta puella fuit."

⁶⁵ Contrast the parodic reversal in Ovid, *Am.* 1. 1–3, where Amor inspires the poet, who must then go out and find an object for his love.

Without his poetry, he implies, all her gifts and accomplishments—those very things which he said in 2. 1 inspired and indeed became his poetry—will perish with her upon the pyre rather than living forever through the literature they inspire; travellers passing by her tomb will not acknowledge it as the monument of a *docta puella*. Though not a funerary epigram per se, the poem exploits funerary motifs and suggests an epitaph:⁶⁶ Without the vivifying gift of Propertius' poetry, Cynthia is as good as dead, deprived of the everlasting life that he will later say⁶⁷ can be won only through *ingenium*, for her fame, like her mortal body, will not survive, and even her name will be unknown (*CiNis* is perhaps a deliberately remote echo of *CyNthia*). Burial by the roadside and the words spoken (or rather not spoken) at the tomb recall Propertius' own case at the end of 2. 1. But the epigram also looks ahead to Cynthia's "real" burial in 4. 7; treated in death as negligently as 2. 11 implies, she will return to seek control of both her monument and her renown.

Logically 2. 10 and 11 should be the end of Propertius' poetic career, since he has abandoned the woman responsible for his talent.⁶⁸ How, then, does he survive to write another 3,000 lines? The answer is that these elegies are only the beginning of a cycle in which rejection is followed by relapse and reconciliation, a cycle which will be recapitulated in different terms in Books 3 and 4. The relapse begins immediately in 2. 12, a meditation upon Amor that, for all its frequently noted resemblance to formal rhetorical and poetic exercises, has a direct bearing upon Propertius' present situation as both lover and poet. He is, after all, a poet-lover trying to be out of love with the source of his poetic inspiration; having rejected Cynthia as subject of his verse, only his *amor Cynthiae* is left for him to write about, and so Amor now becomes his poetic guide. Propertius emphasizes the instability which Amor brings to lovers' lives, the suddenness of his attacks and the incurable wounds they inflict (2. 12. 1–12):

quicumque ille fuit puerum qui pinxit Amorem,
 nonne putas miras hunc habuisse manus?
 is primum uidit sine sensu uiuere amantis
 et leuibus curis magna perire bona:
 idem non frustra uentosas addidit alas
 fecit et humano corde uolare deum,
 scilicet alterna quoniam iactamur in unda
 nostraque non ullis permanet aura locis,

5

⁶⁶ For the resemblance of 2. 11 to sepulchral epigram, see Wyke 54.

⁶⁷ 3. 2. 25–26 *at non ingenio quaesitum nomen ab aeuo / excidet: ingenio stat sine morte decus*.

⁶⁸ Wyke 54 n. 44 draws attention to the observation of J.-P. Boucher in *Études sur Propertius* (Paris 1965) 354 that "in the Propertian corpus epigrammatic poems occur elsewhere only at the ends of books"; thus Propertius seems deliberately to have created a deceptive effect of closure here to suggest that his work has in fact come to an end.

et merito hamatis manus est armata sagittis
 et pharetra ex umero Cnosia utroque iacet, 10
 ante ferit quoniam tuti quam cernimus hostem
 nec quisquam ex illo uulnere sanus abit.

Even in his general treatment of Amor the elements chosen are appropriate to his present situation, and they become even more appropriate as he passes from the general to the specific. Propertius particularly emphasizes the persistence of his *amor*: The god has lost his wings, never flies from his heart, and fights an unending battle within his veins (2. 12. 13–16):

in me tela manent, manet et puerilis imago,
 sed certe pennas perdidit ille suas,
 euolat heu nostro quoniam de pectore nusquam 15
 assiduusque meo sanguine bella gerit.

Propertius' dismissal of Cynthia implied that he wanted Amor to depart, but the god would not go and the result was only conflict; wasted by the onslaught, he begs the boy to fly elsewhere and afflict someone else before he is utterly destroyed (2. 12. 17–24):

quid tibi iucundum est siccis habitare medullis?
 si pudor est, alio traice tela, puer!⁶⁹
 intactos isto satius temptare ueneno:
 non ego sed tenuis uapulat umbra mea. 20
 quam si perdideris, quis erit qui talia cantet
 (haec mea musa levis gloria magna tua est),
 qui caput et digitos et lumina nigra puellae
 et canat ut soleant molliter ire pedes?

The terms in which he tries to buy his release imply a willingness to return to Cynthia or at least to love poetry (the lack of articles in Latin leaves it unclear whether *puellae* in 23 is "of a girl" or "of the girl," i.e. Cynthia), but in any case all the details emphasized in 2. 12 suggest a relapse, or at least the struggle preceding one: Amor is unstable because Propertius, having tried to escape, is now wavering in his resolve, and he has lost his wings because Propertius has not shaken free of Cynthia after all; warfare rages within the poet's veins as his desire for Cynthia conquers resentment of her ill-treatment.

The desire for reconciliation becomes explicit in 2. 13,⁷⁰ where Amor is again both the god of love who has shot Propertius' heart full of arrows

⁶⁹ The manuscripts give this line in the form *si puer est alio traice puella tuo*; the version printed here is the one preferred by both Politian and Housman, among others.

⁷⁰ The most recent discussion of this elegy is Heyworth, "Propertius 2. 13"; like others, including Wyke and Ross, he relies upon L. P. Wilkinson, "The Continuity of Propertius ii. 13," *CR* 16 (1966) 141–44, which argued for the unity of the elegy (divided by many editors at 17) on the basis of supposed shared Callimachean imagery. That division may well be correct and the first 16 lines could be the conclusion of 2. 12 (as proposed by Hemsterhuys); they certainly share the theme of Amor's continuing dominance over the poet's heart and pen, but in a linear reading questions of where elegies begin and end are less important than reading the

and the god of poetry who has made Cynthia not merely the subject but the object of his poetry, the only audience he desires (2. 13. 1–8):

non tot Achaemeniis armantur Susa⁷¹ sagittis
 spicula quot nostro pectore fixit Amor.
 hic⁷² me tam⁷³ gracilis uetuit contemnere musas
 iussit et Ascræum sic habitare nemus
 non ut Pieriae quercus mea uerba sequantur
 aut possim Ismaria ducere ualle feras,
 sed magis ut nostro stupefiat Cynthia uersu:
 tunc ego sim Inachio notior arte Lino. 5

The assertion that Amor *me tam gracilis uetuit contemnere musas* confirms the interpretation of 2. 12 offered above: Love (or Propertius' *amor Cynthiae*) has prevented Propertius abandoning the *musae tenues* of love elegy for epic.⁷⁴ But the further assertion that Amor "has commanded me to inhabit the Ascræan grove" in order to dazzle Cynthia with poetry, in close proximity to the earlier one that "my songs do not yet know even the Ascræan springs" has been one of the abiding puzzles of Propertian scholarship;⁷⁵ it is now time to address this problem together with the related question of the waters mentioned in 2. 10.

entire contents of the book as a coherent, continuous whole. Moreover, *pace* Wilkinson and his followers, Propertius is not yet an avowedly Callimachean poet, and many of the supposed Callimachean allusions are decidedly slight. "Light" and "heavy," "small" and "large" genres existed before Callimachus; cf. F. Wehrli, "Der erhabene und der schlichte Stil in der poetisch-rhetorischen Theorie der Antike," in *Phyllobolia: Festschrift P. Von der Mühl*, ed. by O. Gigon et al. (Basel 1946) 9–34. Not everything small or soft or wet in Latin poetry is a Callimachean symbol, and elegy would still be "soft" and "slight" by comparison with epic and tragedy even if Callimachus had never been born (cf. Cameron [above, note 30] 474; "All elegists were automatically *molles*"). Heyworth, "Propertius 2. 13" and "Propertius: Division" both argue that the beginning of Propertius' third book should be sought at 2. 13, not 2. 10; but it seems odd that the poet should begin a new book in mid-quarrel, hoping for a reconciliation, and anticipating his funeral.

⁷¹ This Renaissance conjecture is the most likely restoration of the archetype's *armatur etrusca*; haplography first reduced *Susa* to *su* (which later became *sca*), and *etru* was corrupted out of a dittography of *-atur*. A. Allen, "Armed Camps in Propertius," *RhM* 135 (1992) 95–96, proposes *armantur castra*, but surely style demands a specific geographical term to balance *Achaemeniis*. Claud. 15. 32–33 mentions *pharetrata . . . / Susa*.

⁷² We should perhaps consider adopting *sic* here, referring back to the action of shooting Propertius' heart full of arrows, while *sic* in the next line sets up the following *ut* clauses.

⁷³ Ayrmann's *iam* deserves some consideration, especially if 2. 13 is not joined to 2. 12.

⁷⁴ The *musae* here are none of the Heliconian nine but simply "songs" or "poetry," a usage employed again by Propertius at 4. 4. 51 *utinam magicæ nossem cantamina musæ* (see *ThLL* VIII 1694. 40–80 for further examples). The three passages where Propertius speaks of *mea musa* probably involve the same idiom (2. 1. 35, 2. 10. 10, 2. 12. 22; cf. also 3. 1. 9–10 *a me / nata . . . musa*, though *nata* may be corrupt). For similar expressions with possessives, see Call. fr. 112. 1 Pfeiffer ἐμὴ μοῦσα, *AP* 5. 134. 3–4 ἄ τε Κλεάνθους μοῦσα, 9. 571. 2 μοῦσα Σιμωνίδεω, Stat. S. 2. 7. 75 *musa rudis ferocis Enni*.

⁷⁵ For recent discussions, see Wimmel 233–37; Wyke 57–60; Heyworth, "Propertius 2. 13" 52; Ross 32–36 and 119–20, with the commentaries on both 2. 10. 25–26 and 2. 13. 3–4; see now also R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Horace: Behind the Public Poetry* (New Haven and London 1995) 36–37.

The closing lines of 2. 10, *pace* Ross, do indeed distinguish between the *Ascraei fontes* and the *Permessi flumen*,⁷⁶ and this distinction, ever since Passerat, has been regarded as a hierarchical ranking in which the Ascraean spring—whether Hippocrene or Aganippe—represents epic and Permessus represents lower forms like erotic poetry.⁷⁷ But such a distinction comports some serious difficulties. First, it is difficult to see what real contrast can exist between the Permessus and *fontes Ascraei*; since the Permessus occupies the same mountain as Hippocrene and Aganippe, it is a *fons Ascraeus* (in the broader sense of “Boeotian”) no less than they are. Second, only Heyworth among the scholars cited in note 75 has seen that the Ascraean spring, if we take the epithet strictly, should represent Hesiodic, not Homeric, poetry, that is, didactic or mythological, not epic; this is implied not only by Hesiod’s connection with Ascra but also by comparison of Propertius’ obvious immediate model, Gallus’ initiation in Virgil, *Eclogues* 6. 64–73:

tum canit errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum	
Aonas in montis ut duxerit una Sororum,	65
utque uiro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis:	
ut Linus haec illi diuino carmine pastor	
floribus atque apio crinis ornatus amaro	
dixerit “hos tibi dant calamos—en, accipe—Musae,	
Ascraeo quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat	70
cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.	
his tibi Grynei nemoris dicatur origo	
ne quis sit lucus quo se plus iactet Apollo.”	

Gallus’ passage from *Permessi flumina* to *Aones montes*, from (presumably) his *Amores* to an aetiological poem (*nemoris . . . origo*) explicitly equated with the poetry of “the old man of Ascra,” clearly inspired the passage which Propertius’ poetry has not yet made from *Permessi flumen* to *Ascraei fontes*. The choice of model is deliberate and significant. First, the implicit comparison between Propertius and Gallus anticipates the catalogue of elegists, including Gallus, with which Propertius will close the book (see below on 2. 34); second, the statement that Propertius’ poetry does not yet

⁷⁶ Ross 119–20 argues against the distinction, but the adversative *sed modo* (26) is difficult to explain otherwise; he is also forced to take Amor in the same line as identifying Propertius’ poetry rather than the god who guides it, and interprets *lauit Amor* as the poetry bathing itself (“Love . . . only has bathed in the Permessus”; “his love elegy has bathed in the same waters” 120). There is a certain logical difficulty in saying that Propertius’ poems do not yet know the water in which they have just bathed.

⁷⁷ For example, Giardina (above, note 44) “ita intellege: Ascraeo fonte heroicam poesin, Permessi flumine amatoriam significari”; Enk identifies the *Ascraei fontes* as Hippocrene, La Penna as Aganippe (*L’Integrazione difficile: Un profilo di Propertio* [Turin 1977] 224–25); for Rothstein “es kann . . . kein Zweifel sein, dass der Gegensatz zwischen den askräischen Quellen und dem Permessus eine symbolische Bezeichnung des Gegensatzes zwischen epischer und erotischer Poesie ist”; Heyworth, “Propertius 2. 13” 52 identifies Permessus as the stream of love elegy, the Ascraean springs as signifying “aetiological, or at any rate more elevated, poetry such as Gallus’s piece on the Grynean grove.”

know these springs shows that he has not advanced as far stylistically as Gallus did in composing aetiological poetry, but it also implies an ambition to do so, to be fulfilled of course in the Roman *Aetia* of Book 4. In context, Propertius seems to be saying that he cannot undertake the promised (Homeric) epic on Augustus' campaigns because his poetry, far from knowing Homer's spring, does not yet know *even* (*etiam*) Hesiod's (the "middle ground" between epic and the lower genres).

A third and particularly serious objection to the supposed hierarchical ranking of springs in 2. 10. 25–26 is that it is attested nowhere else. From Servius' statement on *Eclogues* 10. 12, that *Callimachus Aganippen fontem esse dicit Permessi fluminis*, it has been argued that the derivative Permessus enjoyed a lesser status than Hippocrene. But the commentary on the *Aetia* preserved in P. Oxy. 2262 suggests that Callimachus in fact said the opposite and made Permessus the source of Aganippe⁷⁸ (which he seems to have called "the daughter of Permessus," whence Pausanias' statement at 9. 29. 5 θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἀγανίπην τοῦ Τερμησοῦ λέγουσι; Termessus is another name for Permessus); he may also have regarded Permessus as the source of Hippocrene itself, if it was Callimachus who made the identification of Aganippe and Hippocrene propounded elsewhere by the same scholiast.⁷⁹ Moreover, as Hertzberg has observed, a difference in status is unlikely in any case, since in Hesiod Permessus as a bathing place seems no less sacred to the Muses than Hippocrene and the obscure Olmeius, and indeed is not distinguished from them. Certainly in later poetry the Permessus, no less than Aganippe or Hippocrene, became a conventional symbol of poetry plain and simple, not of some particular kind,⁸⁰ and the drinking of water from the springs on Helicon had become a conventional symbol of inspiration, so that Hesiod could be described as drinking from them even though he never represented himself as having done so. Nicander had Hesiod sing παρ' ὕδασι Περμησοῖο (*Th.* 12); an epigram of Alcaeus had him "tasting the pure drops of the nine Muses" (*AP* 7. 55. 5–6 ἐννέα Μουσέων / ὁ πρέσβυς καθαρῶν γευσάμενος λιβάδων); an epigram of Asclepiades says that the Muses "gave [him] the inspired water of the Heliconian spring" (*AP* 9. 64. 5 δῶκαν δὲ κρήνης Ἑλικωνίδος ἔνθεον ὕδωρ); in another epigram Straton says that Helicon "often" gushed "eloquent water" for Hesiod from its springs (*AP* 11. 24. 1–2 σὺ μὲν ποτε πολλάκις ὕδωρ / εὐεπὲς ἐκ πηγῶν ἔβλυσας Ἑσιόδῳ) and declares that he would rather have a single cup

⁷⁸ P. Oxy. 2262 fr. 2(a), col. i. 20–24: Περμησοῖο· Περμησὸς / ποταμὸς τῆς Βοιω-
τίας ἐξ οὗ ἔχειν τὰς / πηγὰς λέγεται ἢ προ-/ειρη]μένη Ἀγανίπη.

⁷⁹ P. Oxy. 2262 fr. 2(a), col. i. 16–19: Ἀγανίπη·] κρήνη ἐν Ἑλικῶ-/νι. ἢ δ' αὐτὴ καὶ
Πηγάς(ις) / καλεῖται καὶ Ἰπποκρή-/νη].

⁸⁰ Mart. 1. 76. 11 *quid tibi cum Cirrha, quid cum Permesside nuda?*, 8. 70. 3 concerning Nerva, "the Tibullus of our age," who *cum siccare sacrum largo Permessida posset / ore, uerecundam maluit esse sitim*; Claud. *Laus Ser. 8 fons Aganippea Permessius educat unda*; Mart. Cap. 809 *coepistine Permesiaci gurgitis sitire fontes?*

from his beloved boy than a thousand from Pegasus (for the identification of this as Aganippe see above, note 79); and a late hexameter poem full of Hesiodic reminiscences may have made him drink from Aganippe.⁸¹

In fact the only distinction that Propertius appears to draw implicitly is a temporal one: Knowledge of the *Ascraei fontes* is assumed to come after the bath in the *Permessi flumen* (cf. *nondum* 25). The same sequence is enacted in Virgil; Gallus wanders first *Permessi ad flumen*, then is led up *Aonas in montis*. In Virgil, however, there is a clear difference in altitude that reflects the difference in genre between love poetry and loftier Hesiodic aetiology; Propertius seems to obscure this by replacing the Boeotian mountain with Boeotian springs. On the other hand, Propertius adds to Virgil's picture the image of bathing in the Permessus; he alludes thereby to a hitherto insufficiently acknowledged source⁸² for both Virgil and himself, the opening of the *Theogony* (1–8, rather than the scene of “consecration” in 22–35):

Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' αἰεῖδεν,
αἴθ' Ἑλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζαθέον τε
καὶ τε περὶ κρήνην ἰοειδέα πόσσ' ἀπαλοῖσιν
ὀρχεῦνται καὶ βωμὸν ἔρισθενέος Κρονίωνος.
καὶ τε λοεσσάμεναι τέρενα χροά Περμησσοῖο
ἢ Ἴππου κρήνης ἢ Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο
ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο
καλούς, ἱμερόεντας· ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν.

5

Here Virgil's contrast between Permessus and the heights of Helicon is already suggested by Hesiod's implication (conveyed through the aorist participle *λοεσσάμεναι*) that the Muses bathe first in Permessus or Hippocrene or Olmeius before their “fair, lovely dances” at the very top of Helicon (ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι). In Hesiod, however, there is no contrast of genres, and the bathing is simply the natural preliminary activity to the dancing. Perhaps Virgil meant to suggest that Gallus' elegies had been a sort of *prolusio* before his more significant and difficult aetiological poem, but he certainly seems to have exploited the implicit difference in altitude between the places of bathing and dancing (logically, of course, every other place on the mountain must be lower than ἀκροτάτος Ἑλικῶν) as an image for the relative stylistic “elevation” of love elegies and Hesiodic aetiology; Gallus, as the author of difficult, Muse-inspired poetry, retraces the direction of the Muses' own activity to join them in their dances atop Helicon. Through his own allusion to Hesiod, Propertius suggests a similar contrast of preliminary activity and more serious poetry; but, as we have seen, he seems to do so through a contrast of the lower Permessus and some

⁸¹ P. Oxy. 3537 fr. 1. 17–18: *μηλονόμοι Μοῦσαι [καλὴν μ' ἔδ]ίδαξαν ἀοιδήν, / ἐκ δ' ἐλόμην πολυ[]εύστου Ἀγανίπη[ς]*.

⁸² I have seen it mentioned only by Lyne (above, note 75) 37 n. 12, but he regards the allusion as humorous and does not discuss it in detail.

other spring. Some difficulties of this interpretation have been discussed above; they can perhaps be resolved by identifying his *Ascraei fontes* with the κρήνη ἰοειδής of *Theogony* 3 about which the Muses dance (presumably at the top of Helicon, if the dancing in 3–4 is the same as that in 5–8); *Ascraeus* would then have the generalized sense attributed to it by Postgate ad loc. in *Select Elegies of Propertius* (below, note 141): “Heliconian and hence poetic.” But the consistency with which Propertius’ Hesiodic and Virgilian models contrast the Permessus not with other streams but with the heights of Helicon should rouse the suspicion that Propertius did too, and that he originally wrote *nondum etiam Ascraeos norunt mea carmina MONTIS*. This would bring Propertius into a closer resemblance to his immediate model, with *Ascraeos . . . montis* echoing *Aonas in montis* as precisely as *Permessi flumine* echoes *Permessi ad flumina*. It would also be consistent with Propertius’ later references to the Muses, especially in 2. 30, where he speaks of visiting them upon their mountain, as Gallus does in *Eclogues* 6, but only if Cynthia accompanies him. Perhaps Propertius borrowed Virgil’s interpretation of the Hesiodic passage and imagined poets of more challenging genres ascending Helicon to join the Muses, in an allegory of the enhanced difficulty of their task and their consequent need for divine assistance. The chief advantages of the emendation are that it restores consistency among Hesiod and his Roman imitators and that it eliminates the need to invent an unattested hierarchy of streams, but it is not essential to the interpretations offered here.

If Propertius does indeed allude to the opening of the *Theogony* here, then perhaps we can explain the chief difficulty and ambiguity of 2. 10. 26 as well, the meaning of *lauit Amor*. Does Cupid wash Propertius, Propertius’ elegies, or himself? The Hesiodic model suggests that the last was intended. Virgil had the poet Gallus himself enact the Muses’ progress by ascending Helicon; Propertius assigns that role to Amor, his guiding divinity in this stretch of Book 2. Propertius’ poetry does not yet know the heights of Helicon (whether defined by *fontes* or by *montes*) because Amor has so far only bathed in the Permessus, not ascended to join the Muses’ dances; thus the poet emphasizes that his poetry is still Amor-inspired rather than Muse-inspired, the “natural,” spontaneous poetry implied by the opening of 2. 1 rather than the more challenging imitations of learned Hellenistic elegy like Gallus’ poem on the Grynean grove or his own subsequent Muse-inspired poem on Actium (4. 6). Of course Amor is enlisted here as the governing deity of Propertius’ poetry because that poetry is created from his love for Cynthia (and what better god to preside over the writing of *Amores*?), but casting Amor in the role of Hesiod’s Muses was all the easier given the use of *musa* to mean “poem” (above, note 74): Propertius’ *amores* are themselves *musae*. In summary, I propose that Propertius made no novel distinction among the springs of Helicon, but rather followed Hesiod and especially Virgil in distinguishing lower streams from mountain heights. From Hesiod’s Muses, who bathe before

they dance, came the notion of using the streams and the heights as metaphors of stages in the poet's development; from Virgil's Gallus came the refinement of that metaphor as a metaphor of the generic distinctions implicit in the stages of that development. In effect, Propertius is restating, in considerably more ambitious language, the position of 2. 1. 1-4: He is not yet ready to write difficult poetry under divine inspiration, but writes solely from his *amor Cynthiae*.

There remains the repetition of *Ascraeus* in 2. 10 and 13. The occurrences are so close that a cross-reference has been suspected; if that is so, it raises the question of whether "knowing the Ascraean springs" (or "mountains") and "inhabiting the Ascraean grove" are one and the same. The hypothesis that both refer to writing "Hesiodic" poetry entails fresh and insurmountable difficulties of its own. In 2. 10 Propertius says that he does not know the Ascraean springs (or mountains) because Love has only recently bathed in the Permessus, while in 2. 13 he says that Love has ordered him not to scorn light poetry (*tenues musae*) and to "inhabit the Ascraean grove" in a certain way. If Propertius in 2. 13 is indeed writing the "Ascraean" poetry which was still beyond his reach in 2. 10, then some sort of development has occurred; but surely such a development would be signalled in some obvious way, given Propertius' scrupulousness in detailing his poetic progress. In addition, while "Ascraean" might signify "Hesiodic" in the earlier passage, it cannot in the later, for it would be impossible for Propertius to write Hesiodic poetry *without* scorning the "slight muses" which represent his love poetry (and why would Amor be commanding non-erotic Hesiodic poetry?); in any case he is clearly not writing "Hesiodic" poetry, for nothing anywhere in Book 2 can be compared to the *Works and Days* or *Theogony* or *Eoiai* or even Gallus' Hesiodic poem on the Grynean grove. The discrepancy is best resolved by supposing that "inhabiting the Ascraean grove" means not "writing Hesiodic poetry" but simply "writing poetry." Propertius is occasionally somewhat loose with the terminology of poetic initiation, which had come conventionally to stand as metaphors for the composition of poetry,⁸³ and the presence of Helicon in Boeotia meant that epithets signifying "Boeotian" had come to mean simply "musical" or "poetic," even to Propertius himself.⁸⁴ It can be argued, then, that here too Propertius simply repeats in altered terms the same self-depiction as in 2. 1 and 2. 10,

⁸³ For example, his contemptuous dismissal at 2. 5. 15-16 of the rustic "whose head ivy has not surrounded" implies that he (as poet, of course) has been so crowned, yet he will say at 2. 30. 39-40 that "I will not suffer the sacred berries to hang upon my head" (i.e., be a poet) unless Cynthia joins the dance; at 2. 10. 1 he declares it time to "traverse Helicon" with different dances (as a symbol of poetry), yet only at 3. 3 does he even dream a first visit.

⁸⁴ Certainly the epithet *Ascraeus* need not have special point; Propertius uses *Aonius* at 1. 2. 28, *Aganippeus* at 2. 3. 20, and *Castalius* at 3. 3. 13 with no geographical significance. *Aonius* is applied to a lyre used for a bellicose epic at *Ov. Am.* 1. 1. 12 (*Aonium Marte mouente lyram*) and is an epithet of poets generally at *Ov. Ars* 3. 547 (*uatibus Aoniis faciles estote, puellae*); at *Stat. S.* 3. 3. 32-33 *Aonias . . . inferias* refers to a poem of consolation.

reaffirming that his poetry derives from his love for Cynthia. Given the unreliability of the Propertian tradition, it also seems worth considering that the repetition of *Ascræus* is a phantom and is in fact the result of scribal error; Propertius perhaps wrote either *Aonios* . . . *fontis* (or *montis*) in 2. 10 or *Aonium* . . . *nemus* in 2. 13. It is worth adding that, if Propertius wrote *montis* in 2. 10. 25, the repetition of *Ascræus* is unmasked as another false problem like the phantom hierarchy of springs, for the word would unquestionably have in both cases the same meaning: "Heliconian and hence poetic," in Postgate's words.

That Propertius "inhabiting the Ascræan grove" has nothing to do with writing Hesiodic poetry is also clear from the purpose for which Amor has ordered him to write: not to charm oaks⁸⁵ or wild animals but to impress Cynthia (7 *ut nostro stupefiat Cynthia uersu*, picking up from *sic* in 4). Propertius seems content with Amor's instructions; when he can lie in the lap of his *docta puella* and win her approval, he will need the approbation of no-one else and could bear the enmity of Jove himself on one condition (2. 13. 9–16):

non ego sum formae tantum mirator honestae	
nec siqua illustris femina iactat auos:	10
me iuuat ⁸⁶ in gremio doctae legisse puellae	
auribus et puris scripta probasse mea.	
haec ubi contigerint, populi confusa ualeto	
fabula, nam domina iudice tutus ero.	
quae si forte bonas ad pacem uerterit auris,	15
possum inimicitias tunc ego ferre Iouis.	

As commentators note, the condition indicated in 15 implies an unresolved conflict⁸⁷ (none other, it may be contended, than the rejection initiated in 2. 10); with no such reconciliation in sight, however, Propertius spends the remainder of the poem preparing for death. There is even an effect of closure in the explicit reference back to 2. 1, as though the book were being rounded off through ring-composition (*quandocumque igitur* in 17, anticipating the day of the poet's death, inevitably recalls the same phrase in a similar context at 2. 1. 71), and again Propertius provides a false epitaph for himself (the *duo uersus* of 35–36 are only a verse and a half). But perhaps the most important link for 2. 13 is with 2. 11, to which it is a sort of pendant and complement. The poet–*domina* relationship was supposed to provide fame for both through the medium of poetry. In 2. 11,

⁸⁵ Propertius alludes again to *Ecl.* 6, where the Muses grant to Gallus the pipes *Ascræo quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat / cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos* (70–71); the explicit denial for his own poetry of what Virgil attributes to Hesiod again suggests that "inhabiting the Ascræan grove" is not a specifically Hesiodic reference.

⁸⁶ The conjecture *iuuat*, found first in manuscript P (Paris, B.N. lat. 7989), must be right; a hypothetical or hortatory subjunctive hardly seems appropriate to the contrast with the earlier emphatic assertion *non sum*.

⁸⁷ "Hic versus ostendit Propertium Cynthiae animum nondum reconciliavisse" (Enk).

in the course of repudiating Cynthia as lover and as subject of his poetry, he declares that death will take away all her gifts and that passers-by will speak no words over her tomb; in other words, she will be unknown without the medium of his poetry. In 2. 13, on the other hand, Propertius asserts that his own fame will live on and that his own tomb (unlike that of Cynthia, which goes unnoticed) will become more famous than Achilles' (37–38). He goes on to dictate a whole series of *mandata* relating to her conduct at his funeral, expressed not hypothetically but as actual future events, and commands an epitaph that proclaims his fidelity (2. 13. 27–36):

tu uero nudum pectus lacerata sequeris	
nec fueris nomen lassa uocare meum	
osculaque in gelidis pones suprema labellis,	
cum dabitur Syrio munere plenus onyx.	30
deinde, ubi suppositus cinerem me fecerit ardor,	
accipiat manes paruula testa meos,	
et sit in exiguo laurus super addita busto	
quae tegat extincti funeris umbra locum,	
et duo sint uersus: "QVI NVNC IACET HORRIDA PVLVIS,	35
VNIUS HIC QVONDAM SERVVS AMORIS ERAT."	

As we will see in the discussion of 4. 7, the two attempted rejections of Cynthia are linked by a number of connections that make 4. 7 in many ways Cynthia's response to 2. 11 and 13. Finally, Propertius hints at resolving differences: The time to talk is now, not later, when his bones and *manes* will be incapable of speech (*sed frustra mutos reuocabis, Cynthia, manes: / nam mea quid poterunt ossa minuta loqui?* 57–58). These hints, together with his hope that Cynthia, though estranged, will mourn sincerely at his funeral, show further his desire for reconciliation.

A joyous miracle now dispels these morbid reflections. Propertius has experienced a happiness surpassing Agamemnon's at the fall of Troy, Odysseus' on his homecoming, Electra's when she saw the supposedly dead Orestes alive, Ariadne's when Theseus emerged from the labyrinth: He has slept with Cynthia (2. 14. 1–10). In the following lines he reveals the secret of this success (2. 14. 11–20):

at dum demissis supplex ceruicibus ibam,	
dicebar sicco uilior esse lacu:	
nec mihi iam fastus opponere quaerit iniquos	
nec mihi ploranti lenta sedere potest.	
atque utinam non tam sero mihi nota fuisset	15
condicio: cineri nunc medicina datur.	
ante pedes caecis lucebat semita nobis	
(scilicet insano nemo in amore uidet),	
hoc sensi prodesse magis: contemnite, amantes!	
sic hodie ueniet siqua negauit heri.	20

The tears which she is unable to resist (14) represent the mournful, self-pitying strains of 2. 13 (one might go so far as to suggest that that elegy, with its touching picture of Cynthia mourning the poet, was intended to produce precisely this effect); and "scorning" Cynthia—the technique that gets you into the bed of a woman who turned you down yesterday—is precisely what he did by rejecting her in 2. 10–11. I argue, therefore, that 2. 10–14 constitute a sequence in which Propertius first dismisses Cynthia and love poetry, then concedes that Amor (whether his emotional attachment to Cynthia or the god or both) prevents his breaking his commitment to either, and finally melts her resistance to achieve a sexual reconciliation which allows him to continue as a love poet. In the recapitulation of this sequence he will again reject Cynthia at the end of Book 3, his ability to write other kinds of poetry will again be at issue in Book 4 (especially 4. 1), and there will again be a sexual reconciliation (4. 8), but this time the new poetic direction, Callimachean aetiology, will be firmly within his reach and there will be no return to love poetry for Cynthia.

But all this lies in the future. For now, Propertius' joy endures all of one poem; 2. 15 concerns another night in Cynthia's arms, but with 2. 16 and the praetor from Illyria we are back to the bad old ways that prompted his recent rejection. The remaining elegies of Book 2 largely document the strained relationship, but two clearly programmatic poems require discussion here. Unfortunately, the text of both is so uncertain that we can do little more than guess at what they were intended to convey. In the first, 2. 30, Cynthia is invited to consort with Propertius among the haunts of the Muses (2. 30. 25–30):

mi nemo obiciat: libeat tibi, Cynthia, mecum	25
rorida muscosis antra tenere iugis.	
illic aspicias scopulis haerere Sorores	
et canere antiqui dulcia furta Iouis:	
ut Semela est combustus, ut est deperditus Io,	
denique ut ad Troiae tecta uolarit auis.	30

Whatever their connection with the earlier part of the poem (or rather, of what the manuscripts present as the poem), these lines are certainly relevant to the claims about enjoying the Muses' companionship that Propertius will make in 3. 1, 2, 3, and 5 as part of his later Callimachean aspirations (Callimachean poets of course are friends of the Muses; see Cameron [above, note 30] 128–29); since all kinds of poets can invoke the Muses' help, they do not necessarily hint at Callimachean poetry here, but do seem to suggest some kind of more serious, Muse-inspired verse different from his previous love poetry for Cynthia (the allusions in 29–30 to Jovian affairs perhaps indicate that Hellenistic erotic elegy, with its penchant for erotic myths, is on his mind). For now, however, Propertius will not join the goddesses unless Cynthia can come too (2. 30. 37–40):

hic ubi te⁸⁸ prima statuent in parte choreae
 et medius docta cuspide Bacchus erit,
 tum capiti sacros patiar pendere corymbos,
 nam sine te nostrum non ualet ingenium. 40

The combination of the Muses' mountain, a *chorea*, and the inspirational Bacchus may be intended to recall *Eclogues* 6 again, where Gallus on the mountain meets *Phoebe chorus* and Linus, but in any case the primacy of Cynthia in Propertius' poetry is again reasserted in terms reminiscent of 2. 1. He will not allow himself to be consecrated as a poet in this loftily pretentious company unless she is present, for without her *non ualet ingenium*, his "talent," necessary for whatever kind of poetry he writes, is powerless or worthless; in other words, whatever kind of poetry he will be writing that will lead to his consecration will still be Cynthia-poetry, presumably love elegy. However familiar that stance, there is nonetheless a new element of ambition here, directed not toward Ennian epic for Augustus but toward whatever Propertius would write as a friend of the Muses; only an undamaged text of the elegy would tell us exactly how this ambition is related to his association with the Muses in the opening of Book 3.

The last programmatic elegy is the group of lines commonly known as 2. 34. The Propertian archetype, however, presented the last 138 lines of Book 2 as a single elegy, and the decision to divide that mass here and only here is merely the conjecture of some anonymous fifteenth-century scholar that became canonized as a result of its acceptance in Beroaldus' edition (1487) and the first Aldine (1502); there is absolutely no reason to regard it as definitive. In any case 2. 34 as a whole is no more comprehensible than 2. 30; programmatic hints about abandoning or avoiding philosophy (27–28 and perhaps 29–30, if we knew who lies behind the manuscripts' *erechti* or *crechtei* or *crethei* in 29), epic (37–40), tragedy (41), natural science (51–54), and whatever lies behind the allusions in 33–36 proliferate in a chaos that cannot have been intended by Propertius himself. Some familiar themes do recur, however. For example, we find Amor as archer (as in 2. 12 and 13) and perhaps as inspirer of poetry in connection with Propertius as a poet of *ingenium* (2. 34. 55–60):

aspice me, cui parua domi fortuna relictæ est 55
 nullus et antiquo Marte triumphus aui,
 ut regnem mixtas inter conuiuia puellas
 hoc ego quo tibi nunc eleuor ingenio!
 me iuuat hesternis positum languere corollis
 quem tetigit iactu certus ad ossa deus. 60

In 2. 34. 31–32 Callimachus and Philotas are mentioned together for the first time as authors to be emulated:

⁸⁸ This is Guyet's generally accepted correction of the archetype's *me*.

tu satius memorem musis imitere Philitan⁸⁹
et non inflati Somnia Callimachi.

Much about this injunction is unclear. For example, if this is meant to be (as it is generally understood) a major programmatic statement about Propertius' own poetry, it is odd that he should express his supposed *credo* in the form of advice to another (advice, moreover, which he himself has yet to take) rather than in a personal manifesto, and odd that it should simply be dropped in here and not taken up by anything said later;⁹⁰ it is not even certain whether the command is meant to have a general validity or is contrasted only with the preceding two or four lines, that is, whether imitation of Philitas and Callimachus is supposed to be preferable to "the wisdom of Socratic books," knowledge of natural philosophy, and/or whatever "old man" is lurking in 29⁹¹ rather than to all other literary activities. It is also strange that Propertius should be giving such advice to Lynceus: Not only has he himself so far made no claim to be a Callimachean poet (the first hint of such a claim is reserved for 3. 1), but in 3. 3 he will express that claim through an imitation of the very "dream" mentioned here and will be wetted at the close with "the water of Philitas." The sequence would make more sense if Propertius in 3. 1-3 were acting upon counsel given to him here, and we are surely entitled to wonder whether this advice was not originally addressed to Propertius by some unknown figure rather than by Propertius to "Lynceus."

The end of Book 2 has suffered a particularly extreme disruption and does not even conclude with a complete sentence, but it is at least clear that Propertius ended the first book of the tribiblos with a declaration of pride in what he had achieved as poet thanks to his love-inspired *ingenium*, thus returning at the close to the theme with which he began (2. 34. 85-94):

haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro 85
(Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae),
haec quoque lasciui cantarunt scripta Catulli
Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena,

⁸⁹ This is the form (certainly corrupt) in which the archetype presented the line (it also gave *inflatis omnia* in 32); Fedeli, for example, obelizes *satius* and *musis*. Since the transmitted accusative form *Philitan* and the principle of stylistic variation suggest that no work of Philitas was mentioned in 31, and since *musa* is well established in Propertius with the meaning "poetry" (above, note 74), the corruption probably lies in *memorem*, and perhaps in *satius* as well, which is normally construed with an infinitive (*OLD* s.v. "satis" 7). Camps' *tenuem* supplies an appropriate Hellenistic buzzword (applicable to the poet's proverbial thinness as well as balancing *non inflati* in 32), though *tenerum* (Hoeufft) is perhaps not impossible.

⁹⁰ Lines like 42-44, *ad molles membra resolue choros. / incipe iam angusto uersus includere torno / inque tuos ignes, dure poeta, ueni*, are too general to be regarded as a significant continuation.

⁹¹ 2. 34. 27-30 *quid tua Socraticis tibi nunc sapientia libris / proderit aut rerum dicere posse uias? / aut quid Erecthei tibi prosunt carmina lecta? / nil iuuat in magno uester amore senex*. The text is in any case highly suspect on account of the inelegant repetition *proderit ... prosunt*, with its pointless variation from future to present, as well as the crux in 29.

haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calui
 cum caneret miserae funera Quintiliae,
 et modo formosa quam multa Lycoride Gallus
 mortuus inferna uulnera lauit aqua!
 Cynthia quin etiam⁹² uersu laudata Properti,
 hos inter si me ponere Fama uolet . . .

90

However exactly the catalogue of poets ended,⁹³ Propertius is clearly asserting for himself a place among his distinguished predecessors Varro, Catullus, Calvus, and Gallus, thus fulfilling the promise made in 2. 25. 3–4, with apologies to Calvus and Catullus, that Cynthia's *forma* would become *notissima* thanks to his poetry.⁹⁴

Having concluded the first book by establishing his rank among contemporary Roman writers, Propertius opens the second by seeking to define his place with respect to the Greek tradition. Those who take it for granted that Propertius was a self-consciously Callimachean poet throughout his work—despite the fact that nothing he wrote before Book 3 bears more than a passing resemblance in form or content or language to anything by Callimachus—often speak of Propertius declaring his Callimachean affiliation here,⁹⁵ but in fact, perhaps even more explicitly than in 2. 1, Propertius does not yet regard himself as a Callimachean poet (3. 1. 1–6):

Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philitae,
 in uestrum quaeso me sinite ire nemus!
 primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos
 Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros.
 dicite: quo pariter carmen tenuastis in antro,
 quoue pede ingressi, quamue bibistis aquam?

5

These lines have been subjected to various interpretations: that Propertius is approaching these poets as a priest conducting worship in their honour; that he comes hoping to receive such worship; that he comes as "a worshipper demanding an oracle."⁹⁶ But the most natural and obvious interpretation

⁹² Barber's *uiuet*, adopted by many editors, is a lame and obviously false stopgap.

⁹³ The prominence of *ingenium* in Book 2 and its connection with Cynthia invite speculation that, since the end of that book is manifestly corrupt and deficient, some of the lines about *ingenium* in 3. 2 (quoted below) might form the real ending of 2. 34. The analogy of the similarly structured *Amores* 1. 15 suggests that the lines about envy in 3. 1 might also have formed part of 2. 34; the matter is, however, too complex for discussion here.

⁹⁴ *Ista meis fiet notissima forma libellis, / Calue, tua uenia, pace, Catulle, tua.*

⁹⁵ So, for example, Fedeli on 3. 1. 1 speaks of "un' evidente dichiarazione di adesione poetica ai modelli invocati," while Ross 121 says that Propertius' "insistence on Callimachean poetics . . . is far more open, but it is only a question of degree—Callimachus had always been the accepted master" (even when he began the *Cynthia* with an imitation of Meleager?). Lyne 148 describes 3. 1–3 as "*retrospective*," an 'image' for Propertius the love poet, not a programme for such new poetry as there is in Book 3."

⁹⁶ G. Luck, "The Cave and the Source: On the Imagery of Propertius 3. 1. 1–6," *CQ* 7 (1957) 175–79. For the opening of Book 3, see also F. Quadlbauer, "Properz 3,1," *Philologus* 112 (1968) 83–118; R. J. Baker, "Propertius 3. 1. 1–6 Again: Intimations of Immortality?"

has been shunned because the assumption that Propertius is already a Callimachean poet makes it seem absurd: Propertius is in fact asking the Hellenistic masters how to write as they did because he now desires, for the first time, to imitate them formally.⁹⁷ The hints of sacral language here do not identify Propertius as a priest of Callimachus or of the Muses except insofar as such concepts serve as metaphors for the writing of poetry; Propertius the priest stands for Propertius the poet.⁹⁸ Far from identifying himself as a Callimachean poet, he is requesting instruction on how to become one: He is outside, not within, a grove that belongs to them and not to him (*uestrum*, not *nostrum*); he requests permission to enter (*sinite ire*) and asks how; and his questions, which concern matters of style (*tenuastis; quoue pede*) or inspiration (*quo . . . in antro; quamue bibistis aquam*), are absurd in the mouth of anyone who believes that he has already written two entire books of such poetry. Propertius' additional claim to be the first to attempt this enterprise (*primus ego ingredior*) drives these same commentators to further contortions, since he can hardly allege primacy if he means ordinary Latin love elegy such as Gallus and Tibullus wrote before him, but it is perfectly reasonable and comprehensible if he means the formal imitation or emulation of Hellenistic elegy in Latin, where his only surviving predecessor is Catullus 68. (Catullus 66 is a translation and therefore *nihil ad rem*.) Preconceptions about Propertius' relationship to Callimachus and Philotas have also affected the interpretation of *puro de fonte*, regularly construed with *sacerdos*, as in Camps' paraphrase, "first (of my race) I come, a priest (with water) from a spring that is pure and clear." It is more likely, however, that the phrase goes with *ferre* ("I am the first priest to attempt to bring Italian rites through Greek dances from the pure spring"), and that Propertius is claiming to be the first, as Camps puts it, to give "an Italian content to a literary form established by the Greeks," that is,

Mnem. 21 (1968) 35–39; W. R. Nethercut, "Propertius 3. 1. 1–6 Again," *Mnem.* 28 (1975) 73–75; D. P. Harmon, "The Poet's Initiation and the Sacerdotal Imagery of Propertius 3. 1–5," in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 1, ed. by C. Deroux (Brussels 1979) 317–34; A. S. Hollis, "Heroic Honours for Philotas?" *ZPE* 110 (1996) 56–62.

⁹⁷ For an example, see Ross 113–14: "Is Propertius seeking admission to the grove of Callimachus and Philotas to offer worship, or to receive it himself after death, or to ask for an oracular response to certain questions? . . . Why does he ask information from Callimachus and Philotas about their sources of inspiration—has he not known before this? Above all, is he proclaiming a new beginning for his elegy at this point? or is he merely stating formally, or calling attention to, a poetic program he has always held?"

⁹⁸ For the poet as priest, see Hor. *Carm.* 3. 1. 3 *Musarum sacerdos* (and Ovid's parody at *Am.* 3. 8. 23 *Musarum purus Phoebique sacerdos*), Ov. *Tr.* 3. 2. 3–4 *nec . . . uestro / docta sacerdoti turba tulistis opus*; for poetry as worship, Virg. *G.* 2. 475–76 *Musae / quarum sacra fero*, Ov. *Tr.* 3. 5. 33 *tua sacra* (worship of Bacchus that is also poetry), Man. 1. 6 *hospita sacra ferens*, Mart. 7. 63. 5 *sacra Maronis* (opposed to *Ciceronis opus*), Stat. *S.* 5. 5. 3–4 *quae uestra, Sorores, / orgia, Pieriae, quas incestauimus aras?*, as well as the elaborate sacral-poetic imagery that opens Propertius' own 4. 6. The germ of the conceit is perhaps to be found in Hes. *Th.* 3–4 (quoted above), where the Muses dance around a spring and an altar of Zeus; in time the idea became cliché, so that even in prose one could speak of a "priest and worshipper" of literature (Sen. *Cons. ad Polyb.* 8. 2 *tunc te illae [sc. litterae] antistitem et cultorem suum uindicerent*).

to write Latin elegies in direct imitation of learned Hellenistic elegy. The two passages that provided Propertius' models here both refer to springs as sources of original poetry, Lucretius 1. 927–28 *iuuat integros accedere fontis / atque haurire* (cf. Propertius' *puro de fonte*) and Virgil, *Georgics* 2. 175 *ingredior sanctos ausus recludere fontis* (from which Propertius has derived his use of *ingredior* in the sense of *aggredior*). Lucretius and Virgil approach the springs; Propertius varies the image by representing himself as having already approached, so that he is now departing to present his new achievement to his readership.

That these aspirations of Propertius are in fact new and cannot be identified with the poetry he has written so far is still more clear in 3. 2. 1–2:

carminis interea nostri redeamus in orbem
gaudeat ut⁹⁹ solito tacta puella sono.

The Hellenistic ambitions are outside "the track of our song," to which Propertius must return from them, and they are not the "accustomed sound" in which Cynthia has delighted, which must be the earlier poetry in her name. Commentators say nothing about the important word *redeamus*; one cannot "return" without having first visited some other place, and the context shows that for Propertius that "other place" distinct from the poetry for Cynthia is the emulation of Callimachus and Philotas and their ilk. Far from being something basic to all his work, that emulation is probably a product of Propertius' patronage by Maecenas, and originated not in seeking a pose to avoid official "requests" for an epic conveyed through Maecenas, but rather from the association with Horace and especially Virgil that Maecenas' patronage offered. His relationship to the other members of Maecenas' great poetic triumvirate has often been represented as hostile,¹⁰⁰ but it would be better described as an amicable and creative *aemulatio*;¹⁰¹ as

⁹⁹ With Camps and Goold I prefer this Renaissance conjecture to *in*, the reading of the archetype; it provides a smoother connection between the two lines and also affirms that the poet returns purposefully from his Hellenistic ambitions to love poetry for Cynthia.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, W. R. Nethercut, "The Irony of Propertius' 'Roman Elegies,' III. 1–5: Imitations of Horace and Virgil," *AJP* 91 (1970) 385–407, and, for Virgil in particular, Sullivan (above, note 7) 12–31.

¹⁰¹ Propertius' echoes of Virgil and Horace here have frequently been noted; in 3. 1. 4 he imitates Hor. *Carm.* 3. 30. 13–14 *Aeolium carmen ad Italos / deduxisse modos*. There is a humorous reflection of Propertius' ambitions in the notorious passage at Hor. *Ep.* 2. 2. 91–101, where Horace describes his competition in mutual admiration with another poet, plausibly identified as Propertius:

carmina compono, hic elegos, mirabile uisu caelatumque nouem Musis opus . . .	92
discedo Alcaeus puncto illius: ille meo quis? quis nisi Callimachus? si plus adposcere uisus, fit Mimnermus et optiuo cognomine crescit.	100

Rather than being evidence of a quarrel, this suggests friendly emulation, as Horace describes how each flatters the other by rating him the equal of his chief model; the unexpected joke about becoming Mimnermus, and that being more than becoming Callimachus, is a pleasant

Virgil aspired to be the Roman Theocritus, Hesiod, and Homer, as Horace aspired to be the Roman Alcaeus, so Propertius would become the Roman Callimachus.

But when Propertius does get "back on track" things are not what they were before. In Book 2, his *ingenium* was dependent upon a *puella* who created it and without whom it was worthless; now, however, it exists independently of her, to judge by 3. 2. 17–26:

fortunata meo siqua es celebrata libello:	
carmina erunt formae tot monumenta tuae.	
nam neque Pyramidum sumptus ad sidera ducti	
nec Iouis Elei caelum imitata domus	20
nec Mausolei diues fortuna sepulcri	
mortis ab extrema condicione uacant:	
aut illis flamma aut imber subducat honores,	
annorum aut tacito ¹⁰² pondere uicta ruent.	
at non ingenio quaesitum nomen ab aeuo	25
excidet: ingenio stat sine morte decus.	

Now *ingenium*, it seems, is independent of a specific *puella* who creates it; it can be applied by the poet to the service of whatever girl he chooses to celebrate with it, and it can bestow upon her beauty¹⁰³ a fame more enduring than that of the fabled Seven Wonders. This is not the only hint that Propertius is beginning to claim a kind of independence from Cynthia. Of course the very fact that he appeals to Callimachus and Philotas as authorities for instruction is a new departure. Instead of passively allowing Cynthia to create his *ingenium*, he requests help in shaping it according to a canonical set of aesthetic principles; one might say that he is seeking to acquire Callimachean *ars* with which to temper his *ingenium*. In addition, he begins to toy with the notion of inspiration by Apollo and Calliope, the very deities whose assistance he had disclaimed in 2. 1; though he only dreams their intervention, it turns out to determine the future course of his poetry, especially in Book 4. In a combination reminiscent of 2. 30, Propertius is now, though still in Cynthia's company, a friend of the Muses (3. 2. 15–16 *at Musae comites et carmina cara legenti / nec* [Baehrens: *et O*] *defessa choris Calliopeia meis*); he has been to see them on their mountain (3. 1. 17–18 *opus hoc de monte Sororum / detulit intacta pagina nostra uia*), and bids them crown him (3. 1. 19 *mollia, Pegasides, date*

jest that looks back from 3. 1. 1 to the monobiblos, where Mimnermus is the only predecessor held up for admiration (1. 9. 11). It is tempting to speculate that Horace is joking about Propertius becoming *Mimnermus Romanus* rather than *Callimachus Romanus*, but Rudd points out that 4. 1 was written after the epistle (*Horace. Epistles Book II and the Epistle to the Pisones* ['*Ars Poetica*'], ed. by N. Rudd [Cambridge 1989] 15); in fact the ambitions expressed in 3. 1–3 are pretentious enough to have inspired the jest.

¹⁰² Eldik's correction of the transmitted *ictu*.

¹⁰³ Camps and Fedeli interpret *decus* in 26 as the glory that Propertius wins from his poetry, but it surely means "beauty" here; the wonders of the world crumble, and the only everlasting *monumenta* are those created in poetry by *ingenium*.

uestro sarta poetae). Apollo guarantees his immortality (3. 1. 37–38 *ne mea contempto lapis indicet ossa sepulcro / prouisum est Lycio uota probante deo*) and, like Bacchus, is propitious to him (3. 2. 9 *nobis et Baccho et Apolline dextro*).

The programmatic elegies that begin Book 3 (3. 1–3) have so far been discussed as the manuscripts present them, as three independent poems, but in fact they seem to form a single long elegy bounded by the references to Philitas in its first and last lines (3. 1. 1 *Philitae*; 3. 3. 52 *Philitea*).¹⁰⁴ Luck (above, note 96) has noted that the questions asked in 3. 1. 5–6 seem to be answered in 3. 3: Apollo introduces Propertius to the cave of Callimachean poetry (cf. *quo . . . in antro*), Calliope annoints him with the water of Philitas (cf. *quamue bibistis aquam*). But the connections between 3. 3 on the one hand and 3. 1 and 2 on the other seem to go well beyond this. The rejection of martial poetry (3. 1. 7 *a ualeat, Phoebum quicumque moratur in armis*), which Propertius had been willing to embrace in 2. 1 and 2. 10 and indeed at the start of his dream in 3. 3, seems to reflect Apollo's and Calliope's injunction to shun epic. The reference to annals (3. 1. 15 *multi, Roma, tuas laudes annalibus addent*) has special point in light of Propertius' dream in 3. 3 of writing his own equivalent of Ennius' *Annales*. The visit to the mountain of the Muses, from which the poet has brought down his elegies (3. 1. 17–18, cited above), could reflect the encounter with Calliope and her sisters in 3. 3. The "untouched path" by which he came (3. 1. 18 *intacta . . . uia*) may recall the "new track" indicated by Apollo (3. 3. 26 *noua semita*). The *turba puellarum* that worships his words at 3. 2. 10 perhaps reflects Apollo's advice in 3. 3. 19–20 that Propertius should write *ut tuus in scamno iactetur saepe libellus / quem legat expectans sola puella uirum*. The purpose of this long poem is first (in "3. 1") to expound the new ambitions that will culminate in the Roman *Aetia* of Book 4, then (in "3. 3") to explain the origin of these ambitions. They began in a dream in which Propertius, reversing the stance of 2. 1, could at last write epic poetry, and indeed began an annalistic epic in imitation of Ennius, before Apollo and Calliope directed him away from epic back to elegy, and the latter moistened his lips with water from Philitas' spring (3. 3. 51–52 *lymphisque a fonte petitis / ora Philitea nostra rigauit aqua*), thus prompting the question asked of Callimachus and Philitas in 3. 1. 6, *quamue bibistis aquam?*

Propertius says that in this dream he was reclining upon Mt. Helicon and possessed what he denied in Book 2, namely the capacity to write epic (3. 3. 1–14):¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Many scholars and editors have accepted a combination of 1 and 2 (*interea* in 3. 2. 1, which is meaningless coming *ex abrupto* at the start of a poem, provides a powerful argument in favour), but the addition of 3 has not been proposed previously; it has, however, been suggested often that 3. 1–5 are all meant to be read together.

¹⁰⁵ *Hiscere* in 4 is generally interpreted as denying this capacity, but Propertius, like Ovid after him, has simply employed the verb in a well-attested archaic meaning (appropriate of

uisus eram molli recubans Heliconis in umbra	
Bellerophontei qua fluit umor equi	
reges, Alba, tuos et regum facta tuorum	
(tantum operis) neruis hiscere posse meis	
paruaque iam ¹⁰⁶ magnis admoram fontibus ora,	5
unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit,	
et cecini ¹⁰⁷ Curios fratres et Horatia pila	7
anseris et tutum uoce fuisse Iouem ¹⁰⁸	12
uictricesque moras Fabii pugnamque sinistram	9
Cannensem et uersos ad pia uota deos	10
Hannibalemque Lares Romana sede fugantis	11
regiaque Aemilia uecta tropaea rate,	8
cum me Castalia speculans ex arbore Phoebus	13
sic ait aurata nixus ad antra lyra: . . .	

Since he was dreaming that he could at last write an epic, he accordingly began one extending from the origins of Rome to a point just after the death of Ennius (the triumph of L. Aemilius Paullus in 168 B.C.), an indication that he is intending not merely to rehash the *Annales* but to bring the chronicle up to his own time. Suddenly Apollo intervenes, with the full panoply of Callimachean imagery such as we have not seen before in Propertius (3. 3. 15–24):

"quid tibi cum tali, demens, est flumine? quis te	15
carminis heroi tangere iussit opus?	
non hic ulla tibi speranda est fama, Properti:	
molli sunt paruis prata terenda rotis	
ut tuus in scamno iactetur saepe libellus	

course to the Ennian context), "to speak"; for this, and for the remainder of this discussion of 3. 3 (including the adoption of *cecini* in 7 [for which see also below, note 107] and the transposition of 8 and 12), see J. L. Butrica, "Propertius and Ennius (3. 3. 7–12)," *CQ* 33 (1983) 464–68.

¹⁰⁶ A Renaissance correction of the transmitted *tam*.

¹⁰⁷ This early correction of *cecinit* is necessary for three reasons: First, Propertius cannot have attributed to the *Annales* an event it could not have contained (the triumph of L. Aemilius Paullus in 168, the year after Ennius' death); second, the subsequent development of the poem (especially Calliope's warning) is pointless if Propertius has not attempted to write an epic; third, if *cecinit* is read, Propertius devotes six lines to pointless elaboration of Ennius' name, and the warnings of Apollo and Calliope are equally pointless. Defenders of the paradoxos argue either that Propertius is deliberately inaccurate to show his incompetence in epic (contradicted by his assertion that in his dream he had such competence), that he did not know how the *Annales* ended (rather like a literate anglophone today not knowing how *Romeo and Juliet* turns out), or that he deliberately or even inadvertently included among the highlights of Roman history not a major victory or the triumph celebrating it but the transport by sea (*uecta* . . . *rate* 8) of the spoils from one of two minor military successes (either the victory of L. Aemilius Regillus over Antiochus' navy at Myonessus in 190 or the defeat of Demetrius of Pharos by L. Aemilius Paullus in 219)—all to save a *t* in one of the most extensively corrupted of ancient texts. For additional arguments in favour of the conjecture, see W. Kierdorf, "Cecini oder Cecinit? Überlegungen zum Text von Properz 3,3,7," *Hermes* 122 (1994) 368–72.

¹⁰⁸ Polster's transposition of 8 and 12, anticipated in Bibl. Vat. Chigi H. IV. 123, is required by the need for chronological order in Propertius' epic (an order preserved elsewhere in the summary and in Calliope's subsequent warning).

quem legat expectans sola puella uirum. 20
 cur tua praescriptos eucta est pagina gyros?
 non est ingenii cumba grauanda tui.
 alter remus aquas, alter tibi radat harenas,
 tutus eris: medio maxima turba mari est.”

Having warned him away from epic, Apollo then shows him the way to a cavern (3. 3. 25–38):

dixerat, et plectro sedem mihi monstrat eburno 25
 qua noua muscoso semita facta solo est:
 hic erat affixis uiridis spelunca lapillis
 pendebantque cauis tympana pumicibus,
 orgia Musarum et Sileni patris imago
 fictilis et calami, Pan Tegeaeae, tui, 30
 et Veneris dominae uolucres, mea turba, columbae
 tingunt Gorgoneo punica rostra lacu,
 diuersaeque nouem sortitae iura Puellae
 exercent teneras in sua dona manus:
 haec hederas legit in thyrsos, haec carmina neruis 35
 aptat, at illa manu texit utraque rosam.
 e quarum numero me contigit una dearum
 (ut reor a facie, Calliopea fuit): . . .

Calliope approaches him; though Propertius coyly professes uncertainty about her identity, his words imply an etymology of her name (from καλή and ὄψ = ὄψις). She warns him against subjects from Roman history which follow on from those he sang before Apollo's intervention (Marius' victories against the Teutones in lines 43–44, a victory of 29 B.C. by C. Carrinas in 45–46), and, in contrast to Apollo, she couches her advice in terms not familiar from Callimachus; Propertius is to be “content with riding upon snow-white swans” in preference to the war-horse which symbolizes the martial themes of epic (3. 3. 39–40 *contentus niueis semper uectabere cynis, / nec te fortis equi ducet ad arma sonus*). What Propertius wrote before Apollo's intervention and the details of Calliope's prohibition together imply an epic encompassing the entire history of Rome from its origin right down to the present day. Of course such a poem would be monstrous in size and is, if anything, even more inconceivable than the Augustan epic proposed in 2. 1 and 2. 10; Ennius took sixteen books for his own *Annales*, but Propertius would have to include an additional 140 years of very eventful Roman history that included the Gracchi, the Mithridatic wars and their domestic consequences, the civil war of Caesar and Pompey, the triumviral period—to name only a few highlights. This dream of being the Augustan Ennius ends as Calliope redirects him toward erotic elegy and moistens his lips with the “water of Philitas” (3. 3. 47–52):

“quippe coronatos alienum ad limen amantis
 nocturnaeque canes ebria signa fugae,

ut per te clausas sciat excantare puellas
 qui uolet austeros arte ferire uiros."
 talia Calliope, lymphisque a fonte petitis
 ora Philitea nostra rigauit aqua.

50

The near-total loss of Hellenistic poetry, and especially of elegy (apart from some significant remains of Callimachus), makes all of this difficult to interpret. Scholarly concentration upon the relationship of Propertius to Callimachus has not been matched by a similar interest in his relationship to Philitas; this is perhaps understandable given the scarcity of fragments. Yet it is too infrequently observed that Callimachus alone is mentioned by Propertius only once (in 2. 1. 40; in 4. 1. 64, of course, the "Callimachus" is Propertius himself), while he is named or suggested in company with Philitas a total of five times (2. 34. 31–32; 3. 1. 1; 3. 3 [Philitas is named in 52; Callimachus is not named, but is implied by the imitation of his famous Dream]; 3. 9. 43–44; 4. 6. 3–4). This suggests that Propertius names Callimachus and Philitas here and elsewhere not so much in their own right as because they were recognized as the leading exponents of Hellenistic elegy, a role which they also play in Quintilian and which had probably been canonized long before Propertius. Propertius will become not *Philitas Romanus* but *Callimachus Romanus* in 4. 1 simply because he imitates the latter's *Aetia* rather than, say, the former's *Demeter*. The scene serves to reject implicitly the epic inclinations expressed in 2. 1 and 2. 10 (and still entertained at the start of the Dream) and to affirm a new ambition that Propertius can achieve while remaining an elegist, no longer in the Roman tradition, however, but as a follower and rival of Hellenistic masters. It is unclear what we should make of the *Philitea aqua* in an imitation of the *non inflati Somnia Callimachi*. It is tempting to suggest that Calliope's words about riding swans and the scenery of her warning, with its cave, Muses, instruments, and doves, recall a scene of poetic initiation that occurred in Philitas; this hypothetical scene might also have formed the basis for Propertius 2. 30, where there are *antra* on the *muscosis . . . iugis* (cf. *muscoso . . . solo* in 3. 3. 26) and the Sisters cling to the rocks, singing Jupiter's infatuations. At any rate, Propertius certainly seems to suggest imitation of both poets as representatives of a particular kind of learned elegy, though perhaps the allusion to Philitas when the whole context has led us to expect Callimachus is a joke to amuse him or us.¹⁰⁹ It is also not

¹⁰⁹ For an attempt to detect Philitean elements in 3. 3, see E. L. Bowie, "Theocritus' Seventh *Idyll*, Philetas and Longus," *CQ* 35 (1985) 67–91 (esp. 83–86), but the remains are far too exiguous for any firm conclusion. There is perhaps some programmatic significance in 3. 4 as well. The announcement of an imminent expedition against India (3. 4. 1 *arma deus Caesar dices meditatur ad Indos*) may recall 2. 10. 15 (*India quin, Auguste, tuo dat colla triumpho*); Propertius not only declines to participate but does not offer a poem on the campaign, as if acknowledging Calliope's advice, and his anticipation of the ensuing triumph is apparently another example of *uilia tura* in place of the greater offering, an actual description. There is certainly programmatic significance in 3. 5 (probably to be joined with 3. 4 as a single poem), an elegy frequently described as another *recusatio*, where Propertius again declares himself a

clear what we should make of what must be termed Apollo's and Calliope's gross ignorance of Propertius' poetry. In the first of two obviously parallel passages, the male Apollo defines Propertius' purpose from a female perspective, "so that your book is often tossed about upon a chair for a lonely girl to read it awaiting her man" (19–20); then the female Calliope defines it from a male perspective, "so that whoever desires to cheat strict husbands skillfully may know through you how to charm out sequestered girls" (49–50). Neither account seems appropriate either to what Propertius has already written or to what he writes later; his poetry will help no-one commit adultery, and his *querelae* are unlikely consolation for a woman nervously awaiting an assignation. Perhaps the failure of these conventional symbols of inspiration to describe Propertius' poetry accurately is meant to undercut their authority and should therefore be read in the light of his earlier denial that they inspired him.

The aforementioned loss of nearly all Hellenistic elegy, along with the lack of any single complete Hellenistic erotic elegy, also makes it difficult to judge how far Propertius follows through with this new ambition in Book 3 (in Book 4, of course, he will imitate the *Aetia*), but it seems likely that 11, 15, and 19 at least imitate the form of Hellenistic erotic elegy and thus qualify as specimens of Propertius' desire to rival "Callimachus and Philitas" if these are taken as the canonized representatives of all Hellenistic elegy.¹¹⁰ In other respects too the poet is following new directions distinct from Book 2, and various explanations have been advanced to account for the new manner; some speak of weariness and forced effort, others of an experimental phase or loss of poetic direction.¹¹¹ But the change, which I would argue is deliberate and premeditated, has two principal causes: to suggest Propertius' striving toward imitation of Callimachus and Philitas,

companion of the Muses (19–20 *me iuuat in prima coluisse Helicon iuuenta / Musarumque choris implicuisse manus*) and expresses the hope (25 *tum mihi . . . libeat*) that in old age (23–24 *ubi iam Venerem grauis interceperit aetas / sparserit et nigras alba senecta comas*) he will turn to natural philosophy as a subject (25–46). Scholars have been too busy citing the parallel with Virgil to notice the echo of 2. 34. 51–54, in which similar topics (the lunar eclipse 52; life after death 53; thunder and lightning 54) are rejected because no girl *solet rationem quaerere mundi* (51).

¹¹⁰ Francis Cairns has argued convincingly that the mythological component of Hellenistic elegy—the only part that has survived, in most cases (Hermesianax, Alexander Aetolus, Phanocles)—was embedded within an at least nominally personal frame, thus producing the kind of form observed in these elegies; cf. *Tibullus: A Hellenistic Poet at Rome* (Cambridge 1979) 214–30. For an attempt to confirm this hypothesis from the papyrus fragments, see J. L. Butrica, "Hellenistic Erotic Elegy: The Evidence of the Papyri," *PLLS* 9 (1996) 297–321, and for Propertius 3. 15 as an imitation of Hellenistic elegy, see J. L. Butrica, "Myth and Meaning in Propertius 3. 15," *Phoenix* 48 (1994) 135–51. Neither Callimachus nor Philitas is known to have written in this form, but it should be emphasized again that they are named here not as specific objects of imitation but simply as the canonized representatives of Hellenistic elegy.

¹¹¹ So, for example, Hubbard 71: "Much of the book has an investigatory air and the poet seems to be exploring his own capacities and trying to define what he took poetry to be"; 89: "Mostly, they show an exhaustion of the genre, and give the impression that the poet is bored with love poetry and trying, though as yet unsuccessfully, to find new modes"; Camps (Book 3) 2: "Hence it is clear that in this Book the author is no lover in search of a means of expression, but a poet in search of subjects."

and to prepare for the second attempted break with Cynthia by expressing the poet's difficulties and dissatisfaction. The erotic poems of Book 3 are nearly all imbued with bitterness, frustration, or disappointment, and several have parallels in Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*: Two quarrels in 6 and 8 are followed by a confession of shameful dependence in 11 and a general denunciation of feminine venality in 13; in 14 the poet's longing for conditions which would make Roman women readily accessible implies dissatisfaction with Cynthia that incites his interest in these other women; 15 warns her against jealousy and suspicion, 19 against *libido*; in 16 he debates whether to risk his life travelling to Tivoli at her summons (a technique recommended by Ovid for falling out of love);¹¹² in 17 he prays to Bacchus for release from what he now calls a "disease"; in 20 he seeks a new attachment to drive out the old, and in 21 he proposes travel as a further means of escape, two more techniques with the Ovidian seal of approval.¹¹³ The only "happy" love poem, 3. 10, is a fantasy of wishful thinking, not a purported record of experience; ironically, Propertius tells Cynthia here to pray that her domination of him will continue forever,¹¹⁴ even as he is preparing to challenge it. Many of these "erotic" elegies also contain explicit or implicit hints of new poetic directions: 7 and 16 have significant links to epigram; 12 draws upon Hellenistic scholarly and literary traditions to create a miniature *Odyssey*; 11, 15, and 19 evince an interest in Hellenistic erotic elegy; 17 promises dithyrambs in exchange for release;¹¹⁵ 21 implies comedy or rhetoric as alternatives;¹¹⁶ and the love affair that in Book 2 was an epic experience on a par with Achilles' or Helen's is now, in 6, cast within a form that self-consciously recreates a scene from a comedy.¹¹⁷ Propertius' apparent uncertainty of direction is deliberate, for this is the transitional phase between the spontaneous Cynthia-poet and the artful Roman Callimachus.

Propertius deals explicitly with the future course of his poetry in 3. 9,¹¹⁸ which marks the beginning of the second half of the tribiblos. The

¹¹² Ov. *Rem.* 520 *est data nox: dubita nocte uenire data.*

¹¹³ Ov. *Rem.* 484 *posita est cura cura repulsa noua*; 214 *i procul et longas carpere perge uias.*

¹¹⁴ 3. 10. 17–18 *et pete, qua polles, ut sit tibi forma perennis / inque meum semper stent tua regna caput.*

¹¹⁵ 3. 17. 39–40 *haec ego non humili referam memoranda cothurno, / qualis Pindarico spiritus ore tonat.*

¹¹⁶ 3. 21. 27–28 *persequar aut studium linguae, Demosthenis arma, / libaboque* (Suringar: *librorumque* O) *tuos, †doctē Menandre, sales.*

¹¹⁷ For this feature, see J. L. Butrica, "Propertius 3. 6," *EMC* 27 (1983) 17–37. I hope to argue elsewhere that 14, commending the Lycurgan institution of women's exercise at Sparta for opening the way to free love, is an imitation with reversal of a monologue from the *Adelphoe* of Philemon, where Solon's institution of public brothels is commended for upholding public decency.

¹¹⁸ For earlier interpretations of this difficult poem, see Wimmel 250–59; A. W. Bennett, "The Patron and Poetical Inspiration: Propertius 3.9," *Hermes* 95 (1967) 222–43; Hubbard 109–15; Gold, "Propertius 3. 9"; Gold, *Literary Patronage* 163–72; Ross 123–24.

opening seems to be a response to some specific theme or project proposed by Maecenas which Propertius declares beyond his capacity; his nautical imagery (cf. 3. 3. 15 and 22–24) shows that he has absorbed Apollo's lesson (3. 9. 1–4, 35–36):

Maecenas, eques Etrusco de sanguine regum,
 infra¹¹⁹ fortunam qui cupis esse tuam,
 quid me scribendi tam uastum mittis in aequor?
 non sunt apta meae grandia uela rati.

...

non ego uelifera tumidum mare findo carina:¹²⁰ 35
 tota sub exiguo flumine nostra mora est.

Whatever Maecenas proposed is left unspecified, but the great sea and the large sails required to cross it suggest the epic poetry which was pledged conditionally in 2. 1 and 2. 10 before being rejected decisively in response to the dream of 3. 3. Propertius manages to evoke both earlier phases of his ambition by again rejecting mythological epics like *Thebais* and *Iliads* precisely as he did at 2. 1. 21 and by again affirming his ambition to emulate Callimachus and Philitas, even to the extent of becoming an object of cult, as Apollo and Calliope suggested in 3. 3 (3. 9. 37–46):

non flebo in cineres arcem sedisse paternos
 Cadmi nec septem¹²¹ proelia clade pari,
 nec referam Sca eas et Pergama, Apollinis arces,
 et Danaum decimo uere redisse ratis 40
 moenia cum Graio Neptunia pressit aratro
 uictor Palladiae ligneus artis equus:
 inter Callimachi sat erit placuisse libellos
 et cecinisse modis, Coe¹²² poeta, tuis.
 haec urant pueros, haec urant scripta puellas 45
 meque deum clament et mihi sacra ferant!

The striking novelty here is that Propertius now pledges himself without disqualification to pursue under Maecenas' guidance a series of topics that

¹¹⁹ Livineius' correction of the transmitted *intra*; as a descendant of kings who prefers to live as a comparatively more humble equestrian, Maecenas is clearly living "beneath," not "within," his royal *fortuna*.

¹²⁰ The failure of N to include this line has stirred unmerited suspicion; in any case, even if it should be an interpolation, it obviously represents the sort of thing that Propertius intended to say in the context.

¹²¹ Lipsius' correction of the transmitted *semper*.

¹²² Beroaldus' almost universally accepted correction of the manuscripts' *dure*. Recently A. Allen, "*Propertius inter libellos* . . . (3,9,43 f.)," *Hermes* 123 (1995) 377–79 has proposed the implausibly affectionate *care* in a second supposed allusion to Callimachus, but the frequency with which Propertius pairs Callimachus and Philitas tells against his suggestion, which would destroy an apparently deliberate reference back to the opening lines of Book 3. There is a good parallel for these lines as emended by Beroaldus in 4. 6. 3–4 *serta Philiteis certet Romana corymbis / et Cyrenaeas urna ministret aquas*; like Callimachus here, Philitas is identified through his name (in an adjectival derivative), while Callimachus, like Philitas here, is identified through the geographical epithet *Cyrenaeus* (cf. *Cous* here).

partake not only of epic themes earlier deemed acceptable (though recognized as impossible) but also of themes which he had explicitly rejected (3. 9. 47–56):

te duce uel Iouis arma canam caeloque minantem	
Coeum et Phlegraeis Eurymedonta iugis,	
eductosque pares siluestri ex ubere reges ¹²³	51
ordiar et caeso moenia firma Remo	50
celsaque Romanis decerpta Palatia tauris,	49
crescet et ingenium sub tua iussa meum:	52
prosequar et currus utroque ab litore ouantis,	
Parthorum astutae tela remissa fugae	
claustraque Pelusi Romano subruta ferro	55
Antonique grauis in sua fata manus.	

This pledge seems indisputably genuine; though the verbs are largely ambiguous and most might be present subjunctive in a sort of condition with *te duce* ("should you lead the way I might essay these topics"), *crescet* in 52 (which Camps would emend to *crescat*) seems to guarantee that all are future indicative; thus *te duce* is not a challenge to the lyric poet Maecenas to treat such themes himself, but means simply that Propertius will treat them under Maecenas' patronage (but see below for a further interpretation of *te duce*). Again the poet's *ingenium* is engaged (52); no longer the creation of Cynthia, it is now wholly free to grow (cf. *crescet*) and develop as the poet applies it to new challenges. Somewhat surprisingly, the subjects indicated here include a *Gigantomachy* and the origins of Rome, two themes which Propertius in 2. 1. 39–40 and 23–24 said that he would not treat even if he had the capacity. Of course the latter would inevitably have formed part of the dream-epic begun in 3. 3, and it adumbrates the aetiological poetry eventually essayed in Book 4; the more puzzling *Gigantomachy* is surely to be explained through the potential of such a subject for political allegory¹²⁴ (and note also that the use of the epithet *Phlegraeus* inevitably recalls the explicitly Callimachean disavowal in 2. 1. 35). The other subjects here approved are less unexpected: They include a triumph, a Parthian war, the capture of Pelusium, and the suicide of Antony, all falling within the *bellaque resque Caesaris* promised in 2. 1, with the last two specifically from the Egyptian campaign featured so prominently in 2. 1. 31–34.

The situation is a consciously paradoxical one: Propertius emphatically declares his ambition to be a Callimachean (and Philitean) poet, but conditionally pledges himself to some seemingly unCallimachean subjects

¹²³ With Goold I have adopted Peiper's transposition of 49 and 51 to preserve the chronological order demanded by the sequence implied by *ordiar* (50) and *prosequar* (53). The similar endings *iugis* (48) and *reges* (51) could have caused an omission of 51 that led to the disruption.

¹²⁴ For the possible political implications of a *Gigantomachy*, see P. R. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford 1986) 83–90, esp. 87 n. 8 on this elegy.

that ought normally to lie within the scope of epic. The paradox will be resolved in Book 4, when Callimachean aetiological elegy becomes the medium for commemorating both the origins of Rome and the victories of Caesar.¹²⁵ It is perhaps here that the true meaning of the disputed phrase *te duce* should be sought;¹²⁶ rather than a neutral "under your patronage," or a taunt, as Gold would have it, it could mean "following your example." Propertius portrays Maecenas as a man who has access to great power and wealth but either declines them or exercises them with modesty and restraint, and states explicitly that his avoidance of epic is based upon Maecenas' own example (3. 9. 21–30):

haec¹²⁷ tua, Maecenas, uitae praecepta recepi,
 conor¹²⁸ et exemplis te superare tuis.
 cum tibi Romano dominas in honore securis
 et liceat medio ponere iura Foro
 uel †tibi† Medorum pugnaces ire per hastas 25
 atque ornare¹²⁹ tuam fixa per arma domum
 et tibi ad effectum uires det Caesar, et omni
 tempore tam faciles insinuentur opes,
 parcis, et in tenuis humilem te colligis umbras:
 uelorum plenos subtrahis ipse sinus. 30

The nautical image in 29–30 (specifically the ship under sail) recalls the poem's opening and thus establishes a parallel between Propertius and Maecenas: The latter withdraws his sails in order not to be conqueror and magistrate, the former lacks the large sails required to accomplish Maecenas' behest. In pledging himself to ostensibly epic subjects while declaring his aim to imitate Callimachus and Philitas (again as the representatives of learned Hellenistic elegy), Propertius suggests that he will be a sort of Maecenas of poetry: Just as Maecenas declines to exercise power openly and prefers to remain *humilis* within shadows that are *tenues*, so Propertius will treat his mighty epic subjects in a modest Callimachean manner.

In the meantime, however, he offers an interesting anticipation of 4. 6 in 3. 11, the first of his two major Actium elegies. The form—a personal frame (1–26, 71–72) surrounding a bulky mythological section—suggests the probable form of Hellenistic erotic elegy, and so we may see here a

¹²⁵ For 3. 9 as an anticipation of Book 4, see Hubbard 113–14.

¹²⁶ Gold, "Propertius 3. 9" 108–9 overinterprets *te duce* by glossing it, "if you will give me inspiration by leading the way and doing it yourself," and says that it suggests, "if Maecenas alters his political aspirations," or that "Maecenas might want to take up epic or panegyric poetry." A different kind of overinterpretation is offered by Bennet (above, note 118), who suggests that the phrase implies a "numinous power" for Maecenas.

¹²⁷ This, Baehrens' correction of the transmitted *at*, refers to the commonplaces which Propertius has been spouting since line 5 and thus provides a significantly better connection to the context.

¹²⁸ Heinsius' and Broekhuizen's correction of the senseless *cogor*.

¹²⁹ A Renaissance correction (now attributed to Dempster) of the pointless *onerare*.

partial realization of Propertius' ambition to emulate Philitas at least, if not Callimachus. (Callimachus of course composed no "personal" erotic elegies; it is less certain that Philitas did not.) One daring innovation is the assimilation of recent history to Greek mythology, as a series of legendary heroines (Medea, Penthesilea, Omphale, the barely historical Semiramis) is capped by the real-life Cleopatra. Doubts about the seriousness or pro-Augustan stance of the poem¹³⁰ are removed when its rhetorical strategy—the exaltation of Octavian's *pudor* and self-control in contrast not only to Antony but even to the gods themselves—is appreciated. Propertius first introduces a series of male figures dominated by or weaker than various females; thus he leads us to expect, when Cleopatra is introduced, that she will be shown dominating her male companion Antony. Instead, Antony is suppressed (in conformity of course with "the official version"), and Cleopatra is coupled with Octavian; but instead of succumbing like his predecessor, he proved to be the only male with enough self-control to resist and dominate her. (Propertius surely has in mind the anecdote reported at Dio 51. 12 about the interview between the two before her death, when Octavian kept his eyes fixed upon the ground during Cleopatra's passionate appeals.) The poem thus contains a sincere encomium of Octavian's moral strength, contrasted with Propertius' own weakness; this is embodied not in an historical epic but in a nominally personal context within an explicitly erotic elegy (cf. 3. 11. 1–4), the only kind of poetry that Propertius can write as yet, though a more ambitious kind involving the emulation of Greek masters.

The farewell to Cynthia that concludes Book 3 has regularly been interpreted as the end of the affair,¹³¹ and a sense of closure is indeed created by numerous reminiscences of the *Cynthia* and especially of its opening elegy (for these, see Fedeli's introductory note on 3. 24 + 25, with literature); again, however, as in 2. 10 + 11, Propertius is only simulating closure as part of "ending" the affair. But the attentive reader of what has preceded must sense that this is anything but an end. Throughout Book 2 Propertius emphasised that his talent was dependent upon its creator Cynthia, and in Books 2 and 3 he considered, then declined, possible alternatives to Cynthia-poetry; but at the end of 3 he has dismissed Cynthia without proposing anything to take her place. Thus the close of Book 3, like the end of an episode of a serial or soap opera, is an old-fashioned "cliffhanger" that generates suspense about what will happen next. In this case we are to wonder first whether Propertius can really write at all without the woman on whom his *ingenium* depended, and second what kind of poetry it will be, historical epic (as canvassed in 2. 1, 2. 10, and 3. 3),

¹³⁰ See, for example, W. Nethercut, "Propertius 3.11," *TAPA* 102 (1971) 411–43, with literature, and, most recently, Gural (above, note 50) 191–208.

¹³¹ Camps (Book 3) 165: "The poet declares that he is free at last from the servitude of his love for Cynthia"; Fedeli 675: "3,24 rappresenta l'addio all'amore e alla poesia d'amore."

With this rejection of Cynthia in 3. 24–25 begins the second cycle of rejection and reconciliation, paralleling 2. 10–14. When he abandoned Cynthia in 2. 10, Propertius stated a poetic alternative that he knew lay beyond his capacity, then quickly retreated; this time he feels confident enough to plunge headlong into the new project and announces his intention to write aetiological poetry even while writing it (4. 1. 61–70):¹³²

The openings of the two previous books have introduced Ennius and Callimachus respectively as implied or stated models for an alternative to Cynthia-poetry; here at last we have Propertius' own conscious and decisive rejection of Ennius in favour of Callimachus. (In 3. 3, of course, he represented himself as having only dreamed the advice of Apollo and Calliope.) Newly empowered by his "discovery" of Callimachean artistry, Propertius can now do several things that in 2. 1, at the beginning of his poetic development, he rejected as impossible. In 2. 1. 41–42 he denied the capacity *Caesaris in Phrygios condere nomen auos*; but that is what he seems to be doing in the first, "vatic" half of 4. 1 on Rome's Trojan origins (note especially 48 *felix terra tuos cepit, Iule, deos*). Rome's origins were also rejected (2. 1. 23 *regnaue prima Remi*), but they are an inevitable part of the intended aetiological work. This choice of subject matter fulfills the pledge made in 3. 9 to celebrate the origins of Rome, while the choice of manner and genre fulfills the ambitions expressed in 3. 1 to enter the grove of Callimachus and Philitas and those expressed in 3. 9 to be read alongside their works. Only now, by carrying out this programme, will Propertius become *Callimachus Romanus*, and even this limited claim is immediately

¹³² For aetiological elements early in the elegy, note especially 4. 1. 35 *Alba potens, albae suis omine nata*.

challenged by Horos, who voices a question that should occur to every reader: Can the Cynthia-poet really write poetry, especially of such a difficult and ambitious nature,¹³³ without her inspiration? It has long troubled scholars that 4. 1 proposes a new direction for Propertius' poetry, then immediately declares it doomed to failure.¹³⁴ The most widely accepted view seems to be that Horos' warning does not cancel out Propertius' ambition but simply explains the combination of aetiological and erotic poetry that the book in fact contains. But one hardly imagines that Propertius would write a poem of 150 lines (his longest, in fact) merely to explain the disparate contents of a poetic miscellany. Scholars have failed to find the "answer" to the question posed by 4. 1 for the simple reason that Propertius deliberately avoids giving one. In this he characteristically differs from Ovid, who offers a neat and tidy resolution in a similar situation at *Amores* 3. 1; Elegy and Tragedy wrangle over his future course until Tragedy grants him a little time to finish with Elegy before he advances to the nobler form. Propertius, Ovid's model here as so often in the *Amores*, leaves unresolved the question of whether his new poetic endeavour can succeed despite Horos' objections and allows the answer to emerge from the remainder of the book, where aetiological and erotic themes compete. Whether or not the erotic elements that appear even in some of the aetiological poems should be regarded in the light of Horos' warning, Cynthia does return, as if against the poet's will, only to be banished forever from his poetry, though not from his bed.

As Book 4 continues, Propertius seems at first to be winning the battle; 4. 2 is apparently a straightforward aetiological poem on a statue of the Etruscan god Vertumnus, though its emphasis upon changeability and disguise should leave us wondering whether the entire book will not display a Vertumnan versatility. The next elegy is a departure for Propertius, an entire poem written in the character of another person, a young Roman wife whose husband is absent on campaign. Arethusa's letter, a part of Propertius' exploration of marital love, is meant to be contrasted principally

¹³³ Not to mention dry and academic—the ancients were in no doubt that the poetry of the *Cynthia* and the poetry of the *Aetia* were worlds apart; for unromantic assessments of Callimachus' work, see *AP* 11. 321 and 322, and especially *Mart.* 10. 4. 7–12, which asserts the essential humanity and reality of Martial's own poetry in opposition to the *Aetia*:

quid te uana iuuant miserae ludibria chartae?
hoc lege quod possit dicere Vita, "meum est."
non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas Harpyiasque
inuenies: hominem pagina nostra sapit. 10
sed non uis, Mamurra, tuos cognoscere mores
nec te scire: legas *Aetia* Callimachi.

This is one more reason why there is very little chance that M. Puelma is right in suggesting that Roman love elegy could have been modelled after the *Aetia*; see "Die Aitien des Kallimachos als Vorbild der römischen Amores-Elegie," *MH* 39 (1982) 285–304 and the Italian version, "Gli *Aetia* di Callimaco come modello dell'elegia romana d'amore," *A&R* 28 (1983) 113–32.

¹³⁴ The best account of 4. 1 is C. W. Macleod, "Propertius 4.1," *PLLS* (1976) 141–53.

with the characterizations of Cynthia and Cornelia, but it is not entirely out of place in a Roman *Aetia*; two passages are replete with references to religious customs (13–18, 57–62), and the story of Acontius and Cydippe shows that inherently erotic episodes with limited aetiological content had a place in Callimachus' own *Aetia* and indeed could win for it a certain reputation as erotic poetry.¹³⁵ The fourth elegy, on the name of the Mons Tarpeius, is aetiological in form but erotic in content, a blend of the book's two currents. With 4. 5, however, we seem to return for the first time to the poet's own love-life. The elegy begins with Propertius vehemently denouncing the *lena* Acanthis, who has allegedly plied love-charms against him and who is depicted instructing a young woman; it ends with his exultation over her sordid death. Only in 63 does Propertius identify her pupil as *amica nostra*.¹³⁶ In Book 2 or 3 this would automatically be taken as Cynthia (both Propertius and Cynthia have been depicted using the word to define her relationship to him);¹³⁷ but can it still signify Cynthia after the rejection that concluded Book 3? Or is this a fulfillment of Horos' warning: Is Cynthia again, or still, his *amica*?

The resolution of these questions is postponed while Propertius makes an emphatic demonstration of both his independence from her and his new stylistic ambitions in the aetiological elegy 4. 6. This, Propertius' most self-consciously ambitious work,¹³⁸ fulfills promises and aspirations expressed since 2. 1. It is explicitly presented as written in the manner of Callimachus and Philitas, thus fulfilling the ambitions expressed in 3. 1.¹³⁹ In addition, it is a celebration of the Actian victory, promised or implied as

¹³⁵ Hutchinson offers some suggestive arguments for the relationship of 4. 3 to the rest of Book 4 in what is perhaps the best account to date of the unity of Book 4. For the *Aetia* as, at least in part, an erotic poem, see *Ov. Rem.* 381–82 *Callimachi numeris non est dicendus Achilles, / Cydippe non est oris, Homere, tui*; it can be argued, however, that Ovid is thinking only of the Acontius and Cydippe episode and not the *Aetia* as a whole (Acontius' wooing of Cydippe is a love story, after all). The injunctions at *Ars* 3. 329 to know the poetry of Callimachus and Philitas and at *Rem.* 759–60 to avoid them surely refer to epigrams rather than to the *Aetia*, but the apparent characterization of Callimachus as an erotic poet could be meant to characterize Ovid as an erotomane who seizes upon the few erotic episodes in the *Aetia* to characterize the entire work as erotic (of course he has a rather different motive for claiming in *Tristia* 2 that the whole of Greek and Latin literature is saturated with sex).

¹³⁶ 4. 5. 63 *his animum nostrae dum uersat Acanthis amicae*.

¹³⁷ He uses it of her at 2. 6. 42 *semper amica mihi* and 2. 30. 23 *una contentum pudeat me uiuere amica*; she calls herself his *amica* at 2. 29. 31 *"quid tu matutinus" ait "speculator amicae?"*

¹³⁸ After decades of unsympathetic misinterpretation initiated by Gordon Williams' dismissal of it in *Tradition and Originality*, the tide seems to be turning; notable recent discussions include R. J. Baker, "*Caesaris in nomen* (Propertius IV,vi)," *RhM* 126 (1983) 153–74; F. Cairns, "Propertius and the Battle of Actium," in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, ed. by D. West and A. Woodman (Cambridge 1984) 129–69; B. Arkin, "Language in Propertius 4. 6," *Philologus* 133 (1989) 246–51; and G. Mader, "Poetry and Propaganda in Propertius 4. 6," *WS* 102 (1989) 141–47. The recent discussion by Gurval (above, note 50) 249–78 represents a step backwards in appreciation of the poem.

¹³⁹ 4. 6. 3–4 *serta* (Scaliger: *cera* O) *Philiteis certet Romana corymbis / et Cyrenaeas urna ministret aquas*. *Cera* has been defended as an acceptable symbol of literary effort, but surely the contrast with Philitas' ivy berries requires another vegetal image.

a theme in 2. 1, 3. 3, and 3. 9. Finally (and appropriately for a work that accomplishes the difficult task of accommodating epic subject matter within the style of Hellenistic learned elegy), it reverses 2. 1. 3 completely, and asserts unambiguously that Propertius does enjoy the inspiration of Apollo and Calliope and is therefore not dependent upon Cynthia; as the only poem in which Propertius invokes the aid of Calliope, it suggests a full conversion from a "natural" poet to a conventionally Muse-inspired one.¹⁴⁰ For Propertius to celebrate the victories of Augustus seemed unlikely as long as he remained an elegist, since such victories belong to epic hexameters, not to elegiac couplets; but Callimachean aetiological elegy has at last provided a way for him to accommodate the subject matter within a form and a style compatible with his status as elegist by incorporating it within an *aition* on Apollo's temple on the Palatine. Just as he had implied in 3. 9, he has both celebrated the *bellaque resque* of Augustus and emulated Callimachus.

Whether or not Cynthia was the *amica* of 4. 5, she certainly returns to Propertius' poetry in 4. 7 and 8. Her spectacular re-emergence constitutes one of the enduring interpretive puzzles of the Propertian corpus, not only for itself but also for the curious fact that, though she is a singed spectre from beyond the grave in 7, in 8 she is a living, breathing Fury. Her reappearance is obviously awkward if 3. 25 is regarded as the end of the affair, but in a linear reading of the tribiblos it can be interpreted as illustrating Horos' warning that she still dominates the poet. And her transition from death to life, which caused Postgate such consternation,¹⁴¹ is less puzzling if the poems are read as programmatic,¹⁴² rather than autobiographical, and in the terms both of Horos' warning and of the poet-dominant relationship, especially as seen in 2. 11 and 13 and in 3. 2. In Book 2 Cynthia created Propertius' talent, and both won fame through it; the "terms" of their relationship were that her gifts inspired him, while the poetry that he created from them immortalized both poet and mistress as only *ingenium* can—Martial surely recognized this when he said in 14. 189 that Cynthia "received fame and bestowed no less herself." The first attempt at rejecting Cynthia in 2. 11 was expressed in a quasi-epigram that stripped away her identity and warned that she would be dead and forgotten without his poetry; at the same time, however, Propertius asserted in 2. 13 that his own fame, by contrast, would indeed live on. The situation of 4. 7 reflects the terms of Cynthia's rejection in 2. 11: The funeral pyre has

¹⁴⁰ 4. 6. 11–12 *Musa, Palatini referemus Apollinis aedem: / res est, Calliope, digna favore tuo*. Contrast the failed invocation of the Pierides at 2. 10. 12, when Propertius professes his unfulfilled determination to write epics on Augustus' conquests.

¹⁴¹ J. P. Postgate, *Select Elegies of Propertius* (London 1884) lv: "If viii. had preceded vii., the contrast would have been startling enough. . . . But to reverse the order and to bid nature revolve upon her track is a ghastly imagination, or rather Mephistophelian mockery, only possible to ages which have learnt to finger the secret springs of the horrible and produced the painting of a Wiertz and the fiction of a Poe."

¹⁴² The programmatic reading is encouraged and justified by the emphasis placed upon Cynthia as a figure of inspiration in 2. 1. 3–4.

indeed taken away her *munera*, and she has no tomb or epitaph for the world to notice. As we shall see below, Cynthia has come back to reclaim the fame that Propertius has tried to strip from her: She orders the construction of a monument to ensure the fame that he sought to deny her and furnishes it with an epitaph of her own devising, while seeking to strip away his own fame by commanding the destruction of the poetry in her honour that brought him that renown. After the first rejection it was Propertius who relapsed and begged Amor for mercy; this time it is the rejected Cynthia who forces her way back into his poetry, and her return from death to invade his sleep is an effective metaphor for her intrusion into his consciousness against his will as well as for her attempt to restore the situation of 2. 1. 3–4 and control his *ingenium*. Her complaint about the conduct of her funeral and her *mandata* recall Propertius' own *mandata* in 2. 13; the ivy that she commands for her tomb (4. 7. 79–80) recalls the laurel that was to decorate his (2. 13. 33–34), the suggested epitaph (4. 7. 85–86—significantly, a real one this time) recalls his (2. 13. 35–36), and her description of his allegedly negligent conduct of her funeral contrasts markedly with the attentions he expected of her.¹⁴³ Her first words to him in 4. 7 (*perfidie, nec cuiquam melior sperande puellae*) attack the claim of fidelity made in his quasi-epitaph in 2. 13 (*unius hic quondam seruius amoris erat*). A further feature of her return is that she has come, as it were, to “re-epicize” their affair. The Homeric references that abounded in Book 2 are absent from Book 3 (the “Odysseus” and “Penelope” of 3. 12 are Postumus and Aelia Galla, not Propertius and Cynthia); instead, 3. 6 has cast the affair as a scene from a comedy, and this has been maintained in 4. 5, a scene of *erotodidaxis* by a bawd instructing the poet’s *amica*. The epic status of the relationship is asserted first by Cynthia, haunting Propertius in 4. 7 as the dead Patroclus haunted Achilles in the *Iliad*, then by Propertius, casting himself in 4. 8 as a faithful Penelope and Cynthia as a wandering Odysseus. This pair, which comes after the second rupture of the lovers, recalls another pair, 2. 8 and 9, that immediately preceded the first rupture: In 2. 8 he was Achilles raging over the loss of Briseis and losing Patroclus in the process; in 2. 9 she was again not the faithful Penelope waiting faithfully for her beloved’s return.

Cynthia’s ghostly return is the last of the four poems (one in each book: 1. 3, 2. 29, and 3. 6 are the others) where she addresses the poet. Her words become increasingly harsh over the four books and are delivered at increasing degrees of distance; by 3. 6 the lovers are reduced to communicating through an intermediary, and in 4. 7 the physical and emotional distance is so great that she must come back from the dead to

¹⁴³ He wanted her to follow his bier, tearing her breast (2. 13. 27), but did not follow hers (4. 7. 29–30); he wanted her to cry out his name (2. 13. 28) but did not call out hers (4. 7. 23); he wanted her to give his corpse a final kiss (2. 13. 29) but did not even attend her obsequies (4. 7. 27–28); he wanted an expensive onyx jar filled with perfumes of Syria (2. 13. 30) but she received neither nard nor cheap hyacinths (4. 7. 32–33).

harangue him. Her speech in 4. 7 has usually been interpreted in a predominantly sympathetic and sentimental way, though a few dissenters have detected humorous elements;¹⁴⁴ in fact the entire speech is, no less than 4. 8, a comic *tour de force* and raises to new heights of sublime absurdity Cynthia's selfish and vindictive bitchiness. Surely we are not meant to sentimentalize a woman who with her first words unjustly accuses Propertius of faithlessness (even though we see him sleeping alone and dreaming only of her), then declares him incapable of behaving otherwise with any woman (13 *perfide, nec cuiquam melior sperande puellae*); who casts in his teeth a sarcastic parody of one of his own conceits (24 *unum impetrassem te reuocante diem*; cf. 2. 27. 15–16 *si modo clamantis reuocauerit aura puellae, / concessum nulla lege redibit iter*); who is capable of saying, after 36 lines of carping and complaining, "But I'm not attacking you, Propertius" (49 *non tamen insector*), then gives the knife one more twist by adding *quamuis mereare*, "even though you deserve it"; nor can we take seriously someone who confirms her veracity by saying, "May a viper hiss on my tomb if I'm lying" (53–54 *si fallo, uipera nostris / sibilet in tumulis et super ossa cubet*); nor should we suppress our smiles over those sessions of heart-to-heart "girl talk" with the likes of Andromeda and Hypermnestra in which Cynthia so thoughtfully conceals the poet's persistent perfidy (70 *celo ego perfidiae crimina multa tuae*), or over the picture of Charon counting up all the souls on holiday as they come flitting back before curfew (89–92). Further humour may lurk in Cynthia's enumeration of her household slaves, of whom she names six; each one has a significant Greek name, but only in the last and most obvious case—Latris, whose name means "maid"—does she note the etymology. At the very least this is comical pedantry on her part, but perhaps the failure to identify the other etymologies deflates the pretensions of the *docta puella* by suggesting a limited knowledge of Greek.

Whether or not she herself is depicted humorously, Cynthia's mission is intimately connected with the poetic argument of the tribiblos as a whole and of Book 4 in particular. Rejected by the poet, she has come to reject him, in the spirit of the employee who, having been sacked, tells his employer, "You can't fire me because I quit." She tells him, almost offhand, to burn all the poems written in her name,¹⁴⁵ those through which he won immortality thanks to an *ingenium* created by her and which he claimed were to be the everlasting monument of her *forma* (4. 7. 77–78):

¹⁴⁴ For the poem in general, see J. Warden, *Fallax Opus: Poet and Reader in the Elegies of Propertius*, Phoenix Suppl. 14 (Toronto 1980) and R. Dimundo, *Properzio 4,7: Dalla variante di un modello letterario alla costante di una unità tematica* (Bari 1990). The principal proponents of the humorous interpretation have been A. K. Lake, "An Interpretation of Propertius 4. 7," *CR* 51 (1937) 53–55 and E. Lefèvre, *Propertius Ludibundus* (Heidelberg 1966) 108 ff.

¹⁴⁵ It is possible that *meo . . . nomine* indicates specifically the monobiblos, if its title was indeed *Cynthia*. It is worth noting in this connection that Propertius uses his own name in every book of the tribiblos but never in the *Cynthia*.

et quoscumque meo fecisti nomine uersus
ure mihi: laudes desine habere meas.

She is attempting to reverse as completely as possible the situation of 2. 11 + 13, stripping from him the everlasting fame that he claimed in 13 and claiming for herself the epitaph and *memoria* that he denied her in 11. She tells him to write no more about her (which was of course precisely his intention) or, as she modestly puts it, to stop praising her. If she will no longer be his *domina*, then he will no longer be her poet. Instead, she will be her own poet, and she has written an epitaph that she styles *dignum me* (surely with the implication that his poetry was not); and, in a correction of the threat embodied in 2. 11, she will produce her own monument to herself, needing Propertius only to secure its erection and inscription (4. 7. 83–86):

hic carmen media dignum me scribe columna,
sed breue, quod currens uector ab Vrbe legat:
“hic Tiburtina iacet aurea Cynthia terra:
accessit ripae laus, Aniense, tuae.” 85

In marked contrast to Propertius' own exclusive, Callimachean burial in 3. 16,¹⁴⁶ Cynthia's will be by the roadside; ivy will mark her status as a poet, just as laurel marked his in 2. 13;¹⁴⁷ and the inscription will be short enough that passers-by can read it without stopping, just like a roadside billboard (contrast the situation in 2. 11. 5–6, where the *uiator* will pass by her remains without noticing and will speak no words over them); unlike Propertius' own projected epitaphs, which emphasized his relationship with Cynthia, hers recalls only herself and the glory she brings to the Anio. In an act of monumentally shortsighted and egoistical vindictiveness she would substitute for everything that Propertius wrote in her honour a single unremarkable couplet of her own. With the literary link broken, she pronounces the erotic bond dissolved as well, at least for now (4. 7. 93–94):

nunc te possideant aliae, mox sola tenebo:
mecum eris et mixtis ossibus ossa teram.

She cares not whom he loves during what remains of his life, only that once he enters the Underworld she will be able to enjoy that exclusive possession which he had expressed as an ideal in 2. 1; but her words are less a promise of love beyond the grave than a threat of skeletal harassment and even of rape.

¹⁴⁶ 3. 16. 25–27 *di faciant, mea ne terra locet ossa frequenti, / qua facit assiduo tramite uulgus iter: / post mortem tumuli sic infamantur amantum*. The Callimachean associations of this burial are noted by Lyne 137; contrast with this the “epic” burial anticipated in 2. 13, where his tomb would be as celebrated as that of Achilles.

¹⁴⁷ The regular association of ivy with poets' tombs imposes acceptance of Sandbach's *pone for pelle* in 79.

Cynthia's return has an important programmatic function: Propertius has announced that he intends to write poetry unrelated to her (and has in fact already done so), and she is made effectively to sanction that intention. Horos had warned in 4. 1. 139–46 that she continues to dominate him, and she has indeed made her way back into his consciousness in a way that suggests she does so against his will. But he does write one final elegy about her. This can be regarded as “correcting” the impression of fidelity which Cynthia created in 4. 7, inasmuch as it shows Propertius being unfaithful only in reaction to Cynthia's faithlessness. More significantly, however, it absorbs Cynthia within his new Callimachean poetic programme. The poem as a whole is introduced as explaining the cause of a late-night row on the Esquiline, as an *aition* in effect,¹⁴⁸ though of a singularly undignified occurrence; Cynthia herself becomes the occasion for an *aition* describing a ritual at Lanuvium which involved a test of virginity—a very ironic event for her to attend, as Pound and others have observed, but especially so after the protestations of fidelity in 4. 7. There may also be programmatic significance in the poetically suggestive names of the two women with whom Propertius seeks to commit his own infidelity for revenge, Phyllis and Teia.¹⁴⁹ The relapse is constituted by the account in 71 ff. of how Cynthia successfully laid siege to his house and dictated terms of surrender, and of how the two effected a sexual reconciliation; though she no longer guides his *ingenium* and therefore his poetic programme, she does retain dominion over his body and bed.¹⁵⁰ There is also a kind of literary reconciliation here. The expression of time that opens 4. 8 is relative, not absolute: “Learn what happened *last night* upon the Esquiline.” Thus it confers not only upon Cynthia but upon the entire cast of characters a kind of immortality that only literature can impart, for whenever this poem is read, whether in 16 B.C. or in A.D. 1999, it was only “last night” that Cynthia and Propertius, Teia and Phyllis, Lygdamus, the dwarf, and the crowd in the alley were all tumultuously alive; thus he restores, through poetry, the everlasting life that he has said only poetry can confer and had earlier tried to take from her. But 4. 8 does not simply restore Cynthia to life in a kind of compensation for no longer being the “star” of Propertius' poetry; in combination with 7 it is the ultimate virtuosic assertion of Propertius' control over his own *ingenium*. In 7 Cynthia is dead, in 8 she is alive, and we readers, who know her only through the poet's *ingenium*, can never know which corresponds to her actual condition; nothing could demonstrate more dramatically the absolute

¹⁴⁸ 4. 8. 1 *disce quid Esquilias hac nocte fugarit aquosas*; for *disce*, cf. *accipe* at 4. 2. 2.

¹⁴⁹ Teia (“the woman of Teos”) could certainly suggest Anacreontic lyric (cf. Ov. *Ars* 3. 330 *uinosi Teia Musa senis*; *Teia Musa* also at *Rem.* 762), while Phyllis is perhaps sufficiently common a name in Virgil (*Ecl.* 3, 5, 7, and 10) and later in Calpurnius (*Ecl.* 3 and 6) that it could on its own suggest pastoral; Propertius dallies with other literary forms, as it were, but Cynthia—whether woman or book or both—drags him back to love elegy.

¹⁵⁰ 4. 8. 81 *indixit legem: respondi ego, “legibus utar.”*

control that the artist exercises over his subject. Horos had said in 4. 1 that Propertius would weep and would see day or night only according to Cynthia's whim;¹⁵¹ but thanks to the power of poetry, she lives or dies according to his.

Propertius' rejection of his mistress has again culminated in a form of reconciliation, physical and sexual only this time, and the poet is free to continue on his new course. The following elegy on Hercules' foundation of the Ara Maxima, which is surely his most successful imitation of Callimachus, uses archaic and elevated language to depict a god in a picturesque and amusing situation very much in the manner of some of the *Hymns*; its extensive use of significant repetition in particular recalls the *Loutra Pallados*.¹⁵² The penultimate elegy on the *spolia opima* and the temple of Jupiter Feretrius offered less scope for charm (though the lament for Veii constitutes an undeniably attractive digression), but it is nonetheless resolutely faithful to Callimachean principles; not unlike the Actium elegy, it describes something that belongs to epic—single combats of leading warriors—without the slightest hint of violence in the language. The final elegy, the so-called *regina elegiarum*, is a last homage to the imperial family, exalting in Augustus' step-daughter all the traditional virtues so conspicuously lacking in Propertius' Cynthia.

* * *

The second part of this paper has used the internal evidence of structural design and thematic continuity to bolster the theory that was deduced in the first part from the external evidence of the ancient citations of Propertius, namely that Books 2–4 represent a single unified work in three books. It has done this by giving an account of the most obvious aspect of unity in the tribiblos, the skeleton of programmatic elegies that holds it together. Only these three books contain such programmatic elegies, which deal explicitly with the issues of Propertius' poetic direction and inspiration and deal with them in precisely the same terms, Cynthia-poetry vs. other poetry (Roman epic first, then imitation of Hellenistic elegy), and Cynthia as inspirer of his poetry (Book 2 *passim*; 4. 1; 4. 7) vs. Apollo and Calliope (denied in 2. 1. 3; affirmed tentatively in 3. 3, positively in 4. 6).¹⁵³ The

¹⁵¹ 4. 1. 143–44 *illius arbitrio noctem lucemque uidebis, / gutta quoque ex oculis non nisi iussa cadet*.

¹⁵² For repetition in 4. 9 see, for example, 13–14 *furem . . . furis*, 16–18 *ue, boues, / Herculis ite boues . . . / bis mihi quaesitae, bis mea praeda, boues*, etc.; it is in fact so pervasive that the apparent repetition of 42 in 66 (for both lines the archetype read *accipit haec fesso uix mihi terra patet*) may well be intentional, requiring only minor verbal alteration rather than wholesale deletion of one or the other. For similar repetitions in Call. *H.* 5, cf. 1–2 *ἔξιτε πᾶσαι, / ἔξιτε*, 40–41 *Κρείον δ' εἰς ὅρος ὤκισατο, / Κρείον ὅρος*, 72–74 *μεσαμβρινὰ . . . ἄσυχια / . . . μεσαμβρινὰ δ' ἔσαν ὦραι, / πολλὰ δ' ἄσυχια . . .*

¹⁵³ Horos' claim at 4. 1. 133–34 that Apollo intervened early in Propertius' development (*tum tibi pauca suo de carmine dictat Apollo / et uetat insano uerba tonare Foro*) is not to be

programmatic elegies themselves are not political evasions, nor are they monotonous variations on the insipid theme of *recusatio*. Rather they articulate the well-defined stages of a coherent and logical poetic development; and, together with the erotic elegies which form the flesh and sinews around this skeleton, they represent a literary and erotic "biography" of the *persona* that Propertius has created here (the disjunction between that *persona* and the "real," historical Propertius precludes the more obvious term "autobiography"). The "Propertius" of the tribiblos begins as a natural poet who writes love poetry simply because he is in love with Cynthia; this poetry wins him a place of importance among his Roman contemporaries, a success which then prompts him to define a new position, now within the Greek tradition, as imitator of learned Hellenistic elegy; and he achieves a partial realization of this ambition, while resisting Cynthia's persistent influence, in the poems of Book 4 that form part of his Roman *Aetia*. These rising ambitions toward the emulation of difficult Greek models are counterbalanced by the decline in the relationship with Cynthia. As that affair (seldom deliriously joyful) sours and is twice threatened by bitter separation, Propertius must work out what kind of poetry, if any, will replace love elegy, which was the only kind of poetry that he was inherently capable of writing when he declared at the start of Book 2 that his creativity depended upon his experience of Cynthia. His search for an alternative is represented as a distinctly diffident process. In 2. 1 and 2. 10 Propertius' ambitions are, so to speak, "self-interrupted," as he twice declares himself capable of writing only love poetry, not epic. In 3. 1-3 he *dreams* that he got as far as beginning a Roman epic but was interrupted by Apollo and Calliope and directed to the imitation of learned Hellenistic elegy. He finally tries to achieve that ambitious goal in 4. 1 by imitating Callimachus' *Aetia*, only to be interrupted by the astrologer Horos, and his success or failure is left for the reader to judge.

Right from the start of Book 2 Propertius has a potential alternative to Cynthia-poetry in mind, and before his "discovery" of Callimachean *ars* in Book 3 this alternative is epic poetry celebrating the wars of Augustus (past wars in 2. 1, future wars in 2. 10); Propertius asserts openly and explicitly in 2. 1 that he would write epic for Augustus (and Maecenas) on such subjects as the victory at Actium if his talents lay in that direction rather than being Cynthia's creation. As early as 2. 5 there are hints of difficulty in the relationship with Cynthia; the threat to find a new mistress who will be willing to become famous in his poetry anticipates the two attempted rejections that will follow. The bitter disappointment with Cynthia apparent above all in such elegies as 2. 8 and 9 leads Propertius in 2. 10 to initiate his

taken as Propertius' own statement about his background. Rather it should be seen as a garbled, inaccurate observation based (if on anything in Propertius at all) on misunderstandings of Propertius' own programmatic elegies (Apollo's commands from 3. 3. 15-24, the eschewing of thunder from 2. 1. 39-42); as with everything the astrologer says, its credibility is seriously in doubt.

first attempt to reject Cynthia (and Cynthia-poetry) and to embrace a new poetic programme: He announces that Cynthia is finished as his subject and that the time has come to write the proposed Augustan epic. Immediately, however, he acknowledges that his lingering affection for Cynthia and the nature of his inspiration make this impossible; he expresses this by saying that Amor has forbidden him to abandon "tender songs," i.e. love elegy—an elegant poetic fiction designed to explain why his *persona* is not writing something that Propertius himself had no intention of writing. Propertius is forced to retreat from his pledge, offering an epigram instead of an epic. This epigram (2. 11) signifies the end of the affair and of the poetry derived from it; in effect it declares Cynthia dead and forgotten without the vivifying medium of his poetry to celebrate her, but when he anticipates his own demise in 2. 13 (for both lovers, death without poetry is naturally the alternative to immortality through poetry), he asserts that his own tomb, by contrast, will be celebrated and honoured. This attempted rejection is followed almost immediately by a reconciliation with Cynthia; since his *ingenium* is still guided by her, this enables him to continue as a love poet. He is still the poet of Cynthia at the end of Book 2 and is celebrated as such; but unfortunately our texts of the programmatic elegies 2. 30 and 34 are so corrupt that we cannot see clearly how Propertius began to associate himself (and Cynthia) with the Muses in the former, or how precisely he was introduced to Philitas and Callimachus in the latter. In any case, it is to these canonized representatives of learned Hellenistic elegy that Propertius turns at the opening of Book 3 in search of a new direction, asking to be instructed in their art; his ambition is evidently to become the first Latin writer to compose imitations of learned Hellenistic elegy. His appeal to these figures apparently has its origin in a dream (3. 3). Here he dreamed (in a dream that is surely inspired by its Callimachean equivalent) that he had the capacity to write epic that he denied in 2. 1 and that he accordingly began a monstrous and clearly impossible annalistic epic (less "Ennian" than "super-Ennian") that was to take Roman history from its beginnings right to 29 B.C. But he further dreamed that Apollo and Calliope, whose direction was denied in 2. 1, told him what kind of poetry he ought to write, namely learned elegy in imitation of Callimachus and Philitas, and that Calliope "consecrated" him with the water of Philitas within his Callimachean dream—another elegant fiction that again explains why "Propertius" is not writing something that Propertius would not, though now it is the influence of Apollo and Calliope that is decisive, not Cynthia's. In 3. 9, which marks the midpoint of the collection, he has apparently taken these divine injunctions to heart. He declares himself eager to be recognized as a worthy follower of precisely those Greek models; paradoxically, however, he is still offering to treat such traditional epic themes as Augustus' victories (as promised in 2. 1 and 10) and the origins of Rome (with which his *Annales* began in 3. 3); these might at first glance seem incompatible with imitation of those models. As to the love

affair, to which Propertius has stepped back from these new ambitions in 3. 2, it is troubled and strained throughout Book 3; the lovers are never seen together, and the poems dealing with the affair are largely imbued with frustration, disappointment, and the desire for escape. Once again, at the very end of Book 3, Propertius attempts a rejection of Cynthia; this time he does not state what kind of poetry he will write instead, but in 4. 1 we find him already writing aetiological poetry on the origins of Rome. Only later in 4. 1 does he state the new programme explicitly: He is consciously and decisively rejecting his former Ennian strivings and instead imitating Callimachus in a Roman equivalent of the *Aetia*. Thus he satisfies the ambition announced at the opening of Book 3 to emulate Callimachus and Philotas; reconciles the paradoxes of 3. 9 by celebrating Rome's origins in an imitation of learned Greek elegy; and will fulfill in 4. 6 the promise made explicitly or implicitly in 2. 1, 2. 10, and 3. 9 to celebrate the Actian victory, but will do it within the style of Callimachean elegy, not Ennian epic. Propertius' ambition is immediately challenged by the astrologer Horos, who insists that Cynthia continues to dominate the poet (as Propertius himself used to affirm in Book 2). The aetiological poems that follow (especially 4. 2 and 4) seem to show that the poet is succeeding; but in 4. 5, in a context of *erotodidaxis*, Propertius writes of someone as his *amica*, as though he has lapsed back into his role as love poet. The ambitious 4. 6 aggressively reasserts the new programme by appealing to Apollo and Calliope for inspiration and by proclaiming the stylistic influence of both Callimachus and Philotas; but Cynthia does return in 4. 7. She comes as though she were still the figure of inspiration that she was in Book 2, presuming to guide the course of Propertius' poetry (albeit in a direction fully compatible with the path that he has already set for himself); and she comes in a dream, as Apollo and Calliope first did in 3. 3. The manner of her return suggests that she is forcing herself upon the poet's consciousness against his will, as if to confirm Horos' warning about her continuing dominance. Her condition reflects the rejection threatened in 2. 11: Without his poetry she is stripped of her *munera*, unremembered, and without a monument. She asserts her fidelity and innocence, and by haunting him in an explicit reminiscence of Patroclus haunting Achilles she tries to restore to the affair the tragic depth of the epic *Iliad*. She also tries to reverse the terms of that earlier rejection in 2. 11: By commanding him to erect a monument for her with an epitaph of her own composition and to destroy the earlier Cynthia-poetry on which his renown depended, she seeks to ensure that her own name will live and his will not. But Propertius returns to Cynthia in 4. 8, now not as a haunted lover but as a poet in control of his own *ingenium*. He "corrects" her Iliadic reference, painting the affair instead as a comic *Odyssey*; and he concedes her erotic dominance by grovelling in subservience. But, more significantly, he also absorbs her within his new programme of aetiological poetry by making the poem another *aition*; in the process he achieves, for the only time in his career, a

synthesis of his Cynthia-poetry and his imitation of Hellenistic elegy, creating a novel and original Callimachean erotic elegy. He follows his last Cynthia-poem with another imitation of Callimachus in 4. 9—one, however, that perhaps suggests a nostalgia for love elegy by casting Hercules at the shrine of the Bona Dea as a supplicatory *exclusus amator*. But no such erotic *color* affects 4. 10, an austere and thoroughly Callimachean *aition* that shows that Propertius can indeed wear the mantle of the “Roman Callimachus.”

One final issue remains to be addressed in connection with the Propertian tribiblos: chronology. While most of Propertius’ elegies are impossible to date absolutely, it does seem clear that in general each book is later than its predecessor, for all the datable allusions of Book 4 are later than those of 3, which are in turn later than those of 2. Thus it may seem to some unlikely that these three consecutively written books were intended to stand together as a three-book collection rather than as three independent collections issued one after the other. In fact chronology is no serious barrier to this hypothesis, especially given the fluidity of “publishing” in ancient Rome; it is possible that Propertius planned the project from the beginning, then created and issued it in instalments, or that he originally wrote Book 2 as another monobiblos and then planned 3 and 4 as “sequels” to it.¹⁵⁴ In any case doubts raised by the chronological question ought to be quelled by the evidence of unified structure offered above.

Much more can be said about the tribiblos, about its exploration of human sexuality (in the themes of prostitution, seduction, adultery, and marital love), about how the poet who twice refuses to write an *Iliad* not only defines his lovemaking with Cynthia as “long *Iliads*” but often uses the characters and events of the epic as parallels for his relationship with her, or about how the poet who rejects war in both poetry and life depicts that same relationship as a kind of warfare. But, whatever the reactions to the details of this particular interpretation, the ancient evidence for the publication of Propertius and its implications must finally be taken seriously. The so-called Book 1 was a monobiblos and therefore an autonomous work; in an ideal world we would call it by its probable title *Cynthia* and not Book 1—it was never the first book of anything. Just as certainly, Books 2–4 were published together, not as three unconnected monobibloi, but as a unified tribiblos whose elements were meant to be read together no less than the four books of the *Georgics*; in an ideal world we would cite these books too under their probable title, and Propertius 4. 6, for example, would be known as his *Amores* 3. 6. But the numbering of Propertius’ elegies has been convulsed so many times, by Scaliger and Lachmann and Carutti and Richmond and half a dozen others, that there is not likely to be any great

¹⁵⁴ Similar suggestions were made by Barsby (above, note 8) in connection with Williams’ theory of a joint publication of 1–3. On revision and republication in the ancient Greek and Roman world, see now Cameron (above, note 30) 105–18.

rush to adopt this "new" method of citation in place of the misleading and inaccurate one that now prevails. On the other hand, the knowledge that Propertius intended Books 2–4 as a single work in three books has equally important consequences for our understanding of his art; a linear reading of the tribiblos clarifies significantly the interpretation of the programmatic elegies and the search for the Roman Callimachus. There are consequences as well for the interpretation of Ovid's *Amores*, for a desire to emulate (and parody) more closely the themes and structure of Propertius' tribiblos was surely the reason why he reduced its original five books to three. But that is another story.

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Ad Ps.-Philonis Librum Antiquitatum Biblicarum*

GERALD M. BROWNE

IX. 7 *et faciam in eis gloriam meam*. “We might do well to wonder whether LAB wrote something to the effect, ‘I will display my glory among them’” (p. 413). emendaverim sic: *et <pate>faciam in eis gloriam meam*. eadem corruptela in Senecae nat. 7. 30. 3 adesse videtur, si recte emendavit Gercke (ed. Teubn.): *neque enim omnia deus homini <pate>fecit*.

XXIII. 7 *arietem assimilabo sapientibus*. “How does this comparison come about?” (p. 718). per astrologiam, ut suspicor: cf. Hippolyti ref. 4. 15. 4–5 (ed. M. Marcovich, PTS 25 [Berolini 1986] 110.19–27) οἱ <ἐν> Κριῶ γεννώμενοι . . . μεθέξουσιν φύσεως τοιαύτης . . . φρόνιμοι . . . , πλεῖον φρονήσει ἢ ἰσχύι κρατοῦντες . . . , νοοῦντες . . .

XXVII. 10 *et percussit Ingethel cecitate Amorreos, ita ut videns unusquisque proximum suum estimarent adversarios suos esse*. “Should we assume the loss of *non* between *ut* and *videns* . . . ?” (p. 791; cf. versionem anglicam: “Ingethel smote the Amorites with blindness so that, since each could not see his fellow, they thought they were their adversaries” [p. 140]). maluerim: *ita ut <vix> videns* . . . N. B. (1) caecus vocari potest etiam is qui male videt: vd. *TLL* III 43.17; (2) fortasse pro *cecitate* LAB-hebr. habuit **הַחֲסָדוֹת**, quod nomen “a delusion in seeing rather than actual blindness” significare videtur: vd. ed. ad XLV. 2, p. 1031 (de Gen. 19. 11 **הַחֲסָדוֹת** = *percusserunt caecitate* Vulg.).

Urbanæ, Ill.

* H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, with Latin Text and English Translation*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 31 (Lugduni Batavorum 1996). Professori Jacobson, utpote qui me ad hasce adnotatiunculas elaborandas cohortatus sit, summas gratias habeo.

The Homeric *Versio Latina*

ROBIN SOWERBY

This study examines the *versio Latina* of Homer's *Iliad*, first made in the 1360s, from its initial printing in 1537 through all its subsequent revisions up to the end of the seventeenth century.¹ All complete Graeco-Latin editions of the *Iliad* available in British libraries have been examined. A stemma listing these editions and indicating the editor or reviser of the *versio* in each case can be found below (page 189). After its initial printing, the *versio* was revised eight times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Conclusions about the process of revision are drawn from a collation of the first book of the *Iliad*; a sample comprising the first sixteen lines of the *versio* in its various revisions is also given in an appendix. Many of the examples in the discussion that follows are taken from this sample; the rest are drawn from various parts of Book 1. While the focus is on the *Iliad*, a historian of the *versio Latina* cannot ignore the *Odyssey*, to which frequent reference is made in the early stages of this study. However, no systematic collation of the *versio* in the *Odyssey* lies behind anything said of it here. Conclusions drawn from a collation of only one book of the *Iliad* may be thought to have only a limited validity. There is no reason to suppose that editors were consistent in their practice throughout twenty-four books. On the one hand is the tendency on the part of a less than diligent editor not to sustain the effort put in at the beginning, on the other is the capacity of the diligent and conscientious to improve with practice in performance of the task. In the light of the strange history narrated below, it is to be expected that a collation of all twenty-four books, should anyone think it worth the time and energy to make one, would reveal a number of unpredictable surprises. Nevertheless, limited though it is, this collation of Book 1, together with discussion of the *versio* in prefaces, has much of value to tell us of an important and practical aspect of the classical tradition,

¹ I wish to thank Professor G. N. Knauer of the University of Pennsylvania, who is currently engaged in compiling the entry on Homer for the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, for his generosity in sharing his findings with me and allowing me with his editor's permission to make use of them here. The article is more accurate than it otherwise would have been. Any remaining inaccuracies are entirely my responsibility.

as well as something of the nature of editing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Given the subordinate position of the Greek language in the Latin-based culture of the Renaissance, the literal Latin versions printed *e regione* opposite the Greek text in Renaissance editions from the mid-sixteenth century onwards were indispensable aids in the dissemination of Greek throughout Europe, offering a close literal key to the original for those whose Greek was poor or who were learning the language in schools and universities. The Latin version, the medium by which most readers approached a Greek classic, had a practical bearing upon its reception in the most basic sense. The Latin version of Homer in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has a surprisingly chequered history, noted as such by a scholar of the time, Meric Casaubon, who examined it in the 1650s and wrote at length about it with suggestions of his own for subsequent improvement.² This history, which must have both reflected and influenced the reception and transmission of the poems, has not been fully told. It is chiefly interesting today for what it can tell us of what Casaubon calls the iniquitous fate of Homer in his times.

Any study of the origin and genesis of Latin versions, however, must go back in time before the invention of printing, and in the present case a natural starting point is the moment when the Greek poet was first translated in the West in the early 1360s by the Calabrian monk Leontius Pilatus for Boccaccio, who then provided a copy for his friend Petrarch.³ In its first manifestation, the version was interlineal, written above the Greek in such a way as to be a verbal key or *clavis*.⁴ Leontius doubtless used his autograph copy to explicate the text when he gave his public lectures on Homer in Florence.

Agostino Pertusi has published the first 147 lines of the opening book of the *Iliad* from a manuscript copy that includes earlier readings.⁵ These may be compared with the version in Petrarch's copy of the first book by Leontius previously published by Attilio Hortis.⁶ In the early stage of his

² *De nupera Homeri editione Lugduno-Batavica, Hackiana . . . item, super loco Homerico . . . binae dissertationes, auctore Merico Casaubono* (John Shirley: Londini 1659).

³ The story has often been told how Petrarch yearned to read the Greek text of Homer that he had been given by an envoy from the Eastern Church, how he tried to learn the elements of the language from another envoy, one Barlaam, who was the teacher of Leontius Pilatus, and how finally he read Homer in his old age through the medium of Leontius' version. See P. de Nolhac, *Petrarque et l'Humanisme*, 2nd edn. (Paris 1907); J. B. Ross, "On the Early History of Leontius' Translation of Homer," *CP* 22 (1927) 341–55; A. Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio* (Rome 1964).

⁴ Pertusi (previous note) 169–82 gives a sample of the Greek with the Latin from the *Odyssey*.

⁵ Pertusi (above, note 3) 205–19 and 200–04 for his account of the status of this manuscript, which is codex Latinus 7881 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

⁶ A. Hortis, *Studi sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio* I (Trieste 1897) 543–76, "Appendice III." The manuscript copied for and annotated by Petrarch is codex Latinus 7880 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

labours we can see Leontius really struggling with the meaning of Homer's words. When Agamemnon angrily dismisses the priest Chryses, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν (25),⁷ "he laid into him with harsh words," Leontius has *contumacem autem ad sermonem inellebatur precipiendo*, where amongst other things he seems not to have understood the tmesis. Confusion about the meaning of the Greek has produced a Latin version that does not make sense. In the version annotated by Petrarch this is changed to *contumaci autem sermoni precipiebat*. In the next line κιχείω (26), "I find," is first translated as *subponam* and later corrected to *inveniam*. When Apollo is invoked as the god ὃς Χρῦσιν ἀμφιβέβηκας (37), "who have guarded Chryse," Leontius' translation is *qui Chrise propositi*, where the island is perhaps confused with the priest Chryses. This is later changed to *qui Crise a pueritia defendis*, where "from childhood" may be an attempt to account for the tense of the Greek and is perhaps incorporated from a gloss in Leontius' manuscript. When he has recommended the Greeks to restore Chryseis, the priest sums up, τότε κέν μιν ἱλασσάμενοι πεπιθοίμεν (100), "then having appeased him we may persuade him (to stop the plague)." Leontius has *tunc forte ipsum rogantes clinabitis*, which inadequately renders the participle and produces a transliteration of κλίνειν, "to make to bend." This later becomes *tunc autem ipsum deprecantes mitigabitis*, which is nearer in meaning, though the person of the verb is still wrong.

Many mistakes are not corrected in the manuscript annotated by Petrarch: χαρίεντ' (39), "pleasing," is not *sacrum*; τίσειαν (42), "may they pay," is not *honorant*. When Achilles assures Chryses that no one will harm him as long as he is alive, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο (88), "and looking upon the earth," Leontius, who may not have appreciated the middle form, has first *in terra viso* then *in terra conspecto*. New confusions are introduced in the later version. Chryses brings ransom gifts that are ἀπερείσια (13), "numberless." This is rendered by the word *miserabilia*, though this is perhaps a mistranscription for *mirabilia*. When Agamemnon agrees to restore Chryseis, βούλομ' ἐγὼ λαὸν σὸον ἔμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι (117), "I wish the people to remain safe rather than perish," the earlier version, which makes fair sense (*volo ego magis populum sanum esse quam destrui*), is completely garbled to become *volo ego populum saluum esse quod destrui*. In the earlier version τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' ἀγορήνδε καλέσσατο λαὸν Ἀχιλλεύς (54), "on the tenth Achilles called the people to council," is rendered *decima autem ad congregationemque vocavit populum Achilles*, where Leontius shows an often repeated confusion about the use of the enclitic *-que* in Latin. This inexplicably becomes *in nona autem ad agregatorem vocavit populum Achilles*, where the number is wrong and a barbarous word has been introduced.

⁷ Quotations of Homer are from T. W. Allen (ed.), *Homeri Ilias* (Oxford 1931). The Renaissance vulgate does not differ significantly in any of the passages quoted and discussed.

Quite apart from stumblings over the Greek, there is some incorrect, unidiomatic and peculiar Latin. *Alacre* (39) should be *alacriter*. There are many non-classical words like *clinabit* and *agregatorem* above. The Homeric word ξυνήϊα (124), "common property," is rendered by the word *ensenia*, a non-classical variation from *xenium*, itself a transliteration of the Greek ξένιον. When it first occurs φρένες (103), "mind" or "feelings," is rendered by *essenciae*, a rare word not used in the plural in classical Latin. In the proem, διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε (6), "they were divided in conflict," is inadequately rendered by *diversimode litigaverunt*, where the adverb, if such it is, is a peculiar non-classical formation. Many perfectly good classical words are not always felicitous in the context in which they are being used, as in the case of the following verbs: *corrumpebantur autem populi* (10) translating ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί, "the people perished"; *perambulavit* (50) for ἐπώχετο (of Apollo going against mules and dogs); *ambulaverunt tela dei* (53) for ὄχετο (of arrows); *ne me instiges* (32) ill translates μή μ' ἐρέθιζε, "don't provoke me." When Agamemnon envisages Chryseis partaking of his bed, ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιώσαν (31), the translation of the difficult word ἀντιώσαν, occurring only here in this sense and glossed in the scholia as μετέχουσιν, "sharing," is perplexing to say the least: *meum lectum contra respicientem*.

The rendering of such ἄπαξ λεγόμενα and distinctive Homeric vocabulary like the traditional epithets reveals the limitations of the resources at Leontius' disposal.⁸ He was forced to guess the meaning of many unfamiliar words: ἀμφορεφέα (45), "close-covered," the epithet of a quiver, becomes *amplumque pharetram*; ἐχεπευκές (51), "bitter" as explained in the scholia or "sharp" as favoured by some modern interpreters, as applied to an arrow, is rendered *de bono pouco* with a marginal gloss explaining that the arrow was made from cypress. Leontius seems to have created his own Latin word for the occasion. Athene's epithet γλαυκῶπις (206), "blue-grey eyed," becomes *magna oculos Athene*. He is no more successful in the case of ἐλικῶπιδα (98), "with glancing eyes," which is rendered *magnum oculos habentem*. Most revealing is the rendering of αἰγιόχοιο Διός (202 and 222), "Zeus who bears the aegis." Ignorant of the aegis, he was nevertheless prompted by the first part of the epithet to recall the story of Jove being nursed by goats on Cretan Ida: *capram lactantis Iovis*, "goat-milking Jove," turns the sublime into the ridiculous.

Before the translation had been begun, Petrarch, who believed that translations should be works of literature, wrote a cautionary letter to Boccaccio advising against an *ad verbum* version in prose.⁹ He quoted the words of Jerome, which he was later to write at the head of his copy of the finished result: *si cui non videtur linguae gratiam interpretatione mutari*,

⁸ On this see Pertusi (above, note 3) Chapter V.

⁹ *Epist. Var.* 25, in G. Fracassetti (ed.), *F. Petrarcae Epistolae* (Florence 1859–63) II 370.

Homerum ad verbum exprimat in latinum: plus aliquid dicam: eundem in sua lingua prosae verbis interpretetur: videbit ordinem ridiculum, et poetam eloquentissimum vix loquentem ("If anyone thinks that the beauty of language is not changed in literal translation, let him turn Homer word for word into Latin; let me say something more, let him explicate the same poet with the words of prose, he will see a word-order that is ridiculous and a most eloquent poet scarce able to speak at all"). How perfectly the version of Leontius bears out the verdict of Jerome and Petrarch's worst fears.¹⁰ *Notissima nunc grecorum ignorantia*, Petrarch had written in his *De Ignorantia*.¹¹ The Calabrian monk Leontius represented all that Petrarch the humanist wished to turn his back upon. Nevertheless in the same letter to Boccaccio he went on to welcome the translation however it might come, saying that his hunger for noble literature was so great that, just as one who is desperately hungry does not need exquisite cooking, so he expects that food for his soul can be found in whatever form the translation of the great work comes. Given the difficulty of Homer and the prevailing ignorance of Greek in the West, the translation met a real need among the early humanists and it seems to have been copied a number of times.¹² It is remarkable that, although the version was much despised for its general barbarity, it was a hundred years before there is evidence of a better one in circulation, used, it seems, by Andronicus Callistus when he explicated Homer in the Florentine Academy during his sojourn there from 1471–75.¹³

The evidence for this is presented by Ida Maier in her study of the Italian humanist Angelo Politian. She gives a page extract from a study-book comprising notes taken from the lessons of Callistus by one of his pupils, who names his teacher twice subsequently in the notebook. The

¹⁰ In his extensive and scholarly study of the translations of Leontius, Pertusi (above, note 3) has become rather partial to his subject. His charitable verdict (442) that the *versio* of Leontius was not a bad first effort and that it is possible to see its influence in the latest redaction of the *versio* in the nineteenth century is true in the limited sense that the *versio* remained *ad verbum*, but it not only ignores the complicated history of successive attempts to revise the *versio* but also glosses over all the evidence he himself provides of the sheer frightfulness of Leontius' work, its *barbaries*, from which scholars and humanists recoiled alike, whatever their theory of translation. His list of Latin translations of Homer beginning on page 522 contains a number of inaccuracies.

¹¹ L. M. Capelli (ed.), *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia* (Paris 1906) 65.

¹² See Pertusi (above, note 3) 147 ff., 238 (for the *Iliad*) and 152 ff. and 200 (for the *Odyssey*) and P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other Libraries* (London and Leiden 1963–93) III 479a (*Iliad*, Berlin) and 706a (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Stuttgart), IV 402a (*Odyssey*, Kormik, Poland) and 592a (*Odyssey*, Madrid).

¹³ There is an Italian manuscript containing an *ad verbum* version of Books 1–12 of the *Iliad* and dated 1410 in the Bodleian library. Though better than Leontius, the understanding of Homer it represents is much more limited than that in the version used by Andronicus Callistus. See R. Weiss, "An Unknown Fifteenth-Century Version of the *Iliad*," *The Bodleian Quarterly Record* 7 (1934) 464. There is also a *retractatio* of a few of the early books of the *Iliad* by Pier Candido Decembrio made between 1439 and 1441; it remains *ad verbum*, see C. Fabiano, "Pier Candido Decembrio traduttore d'Omero," *Aevum* 23 (1949) 36–51.

explication of the *Iliad* begins with eight lines of a *versio Latina* followed by notes on individual Greek words.

Iram cane pelide achillis
 Funestam que innumeros achivis dolores fecit
 Multasque praestantes animas orco misit
 Heroum, ipsosque escam fecit canibus
 Aventusque omnibus, Iovis autem perficiebatur consilio.
 Ex quo primum separati fuerunt litigantes
 Atridesque rex hominum et divus achilles
 Quisque ipsos deorum contentione commovit pugnare¹⁴

These eight lines are identical to the opening lines of the Latin version of the anonymous Vatican manuscript copied by Bartolomeo Sanvito (the Greek text is copied by John of Rhodes and bears the date 1477)¹⁵ except in two respects. The Vatican version has *ipsos vero escam* (a minor improvement) and *perficiebatur consilium* (*consilio* has no construction and is evidently a mistake on the pupil's part). No other version consulted for this study has *funestam* for οὐλομένην, *escam* (a very loose translation of ἐλώρια) or *praestantes* for ἰφθίμους. These are two of four manuscripts containing this version, none of which is complete and of which only the Vatican manuscript bears a date.¹⁶ The study-book seems to be the earliest, but even though it cannot be said that Andronicus is the reviser (it may have been composed much earlier), its use by this notable Byzantine émigré in the Florentine Academy suggests—what indeed proves to be the case—that it represents a marked advance in Homeric understanding and scholarship beyond anything in the cultural substratum of southern Italy which had produced Leontius. Indeed it probably represents a new start.¹⁷ These are the renderings in the version used by Andronicus of the words and lines

¹⁴ I. Maier, *Ange Politien; La formation d'un poète humaniste (1469–1480)* (Geneva 1966) 58–59, "Appendice VI." (See also 30–31 for further comment on Callistus.) The manuscript is codex Laur. 66. 31, Florence (Kristeller [above, note 12] V 11b). In Maier's transcription there are three mistakes: *pelidae* for *pelide*, *Multaque* for *Multasque* and *proficiebatur* for *perficiebatur*. In this last word the prefix is contracted; the same contraction occurs three times elsewhere on the same page, where it is correctly transcribed as *permanens*, *per geminum* and *perdo*. For further discussion of this codex, see G. Resta, "Andronico Callisto, Bartolomeo Fonizio e la prima traduzione umanistica di Apollonio Rodio," in *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzoni* (Rome 1978) 1094 ff.

¹⁵ Cod. Vat. gr. 1626. See Pertusi (above, note 3) 139 n. 2, who first drew attention to this version and cites the opening lines, and Kristeller (above, note 12) II 389a and VI 318a. The opening pages of this Greek and Latin *Iliad*, beautifully illustrated, are reproduced in *Rome Reborn*, ed. by A. Grafton (Washington, London and New Haven 1993) 7.

¹⁶ The other two are: MS A. 1414, Biblioteca Comunale d'Archiginnasio, Bologna (believed to be an early 16th c. copy of the Vatican codex; see Pertusi [above, note 3] 139 n. 2 and Kristeller [above, note 12] V 11b) and MS V. a. 19, Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm (believed to be late 15th c.; Kristeller [above, note 12] V 11b). I am indebted to Professor Knauer for communicating to me his preliminary conclusions about this group of manuscripts.

¹⁷ If evidence of this is required, then it can be seen in the translation of particles (often an easy indication of indebtedness): Where Leontius has *autem* for δέ and *vel* for ή, in the Vatican manuscript they are *vero* and *aut*.

quoted from Leontius in the order in which they occur above: *asperum vero verbum dicebat* (25), *reperiamur* (26), *gubernas* (37), *tunc ipsum propositum reddentes suadebimus* (100), *gratum* (39), *puniantur* (42), *in terra existente* (88), *innumerabilia* (13), *volo ego populum saluum esse non perire* (117), *in decimo vero ad contionem vocavit populum Achilles* (54), *communia* (124), *mens* (103), *separati fuerant litigantes* (6), *peribant autem populi* (10), *adivit* (50), *ibant* (53), *sed valde non me stimula* (32), *meum lectum ministrantem* (31), *ab utraque parte co-opertam* (45), *amarum* (51), *dea caesos oculos habens Minerva* (206), *nigros oculos habentem puellam* (98). The author, who has a sure command of Latin, also made consistent use of the glosses he had at his disposal contained in the Greek scholia, which might have saved Leontius from some of his misunderstandings. The scholiast glosses αἰγίοχοιο (202) as αἰγίδα ἔχοντος and explains that the aegis is the fiery shield of Zeus. In the Vatican version this is rendered at 202 as *aegidem tenentis Iovis* and at 222 as *tenentis clipeum Iovis*. A good Byzantine scholar would not have needed to consult a gloss to render the aegis of Zeus correctly, but the scholia were useful for more difficult words. For instance, the rendering of ἀμφορεφέα (45) as *ab utraque parte co-opertam* derives from the gloss τὴν ἑκατέροθεν ἔσκεπασμένον and the rendering of ἔχεπευκές (51) as *amarum* derives from the gloss ἔχον πικρίαν. The note in the scholia on the epithet of Apollo, Σμινθεῦ (39), explaining that it is derived from a word for mice because Apollo had intervened to save one of his temples from a plague of them, is responsible for the rendering *Murum interfector*. Occasionally reading of the scholia leads to pedantry: Ποδάρκης (121) is rendered *pedibus sufficientem habens* (rather an understatement for one who, like Achilles, excelled in running), which is probably prompted by the Greek ἐπαρκεῖν τοῖς ποσὶ δυνάμενος. In the light of this care, it is difficult to account for the weak rendering *escam* for ἐλώρια (4), which is glossed as ἐλκύσματα and σπαράγματα. Even more surprising is the definite mistake at 29, where Agamemnon says he will not release Chryseis before old age (γῆρας) comes to her in Argos. In the Latin we have *honor*, which is a version of γέρας, perhaps to be explained by a garbled reading in the Greek manuscript from which the translator was working, as, after Leontius, the version as a whole is strikingly error-free. It is also composed for the most part of Latin words that have a good classical pedigree and are idiomatic in context. Although it is far superior to that of Leontius and would have provided a much better base for subsequent improvement, it seems to have remained unnoticed. There are no traces of it in the printed version.

The first printed Latin version of the *Odyssey*, *Andrea Divo Justinopolitano interprete, ad verbum translata*, published in Venice

without the Greek text in 1537,¹⁸ closely follows the Latin of Leontius Pilatus.¹⁹

Leontius Virum michi pande, Musa, multimodum, qui valde multum
Divus Virum mihi dic musa multiscium, qui valde multum

Leontius Erravit, ex quo Troie sacrum civitatem depredatus fuit;
Divus Erravit, ex quo Troyae urbem depopulatus est;

Leontius Multorum hominum vidit urbes, et intellectum novit:
Divus Multorum autem virorum videt urbes, et mentem cognovit;

Leontius Multas autem hic in ponto passus fuit angustias proprio in animo
Divus Multas autem hic in mari passus est dolores, suo in animo

Leontius Redimens propriam animam et reditum sociorum.
Divus Liberans propriamque animam et reditum sociorum.

Leontius Sed non sic socios salvavit, desiderans licet;
Divus Sed neque sic socios liberavit, cupiens quamvis:

Leontius Ipsorum enim propriis stultitiis perierunt;
Divus Ipsorum enim propriis stultitiis perierunt;

Leontius Stolidi qui per boves yperionis solis
Divus Fatui qui boves Hyperionidae Solis

Leontius Comederunt, nam hic istis abstulit reditus diem.
Divus Comederunt: sed hic his abstulit reditus diem.

A note to the reader makes it clear that the version, though printed independently, was intended to be used with the Aldine Homer, to whose pages it corresponded (sig. a 2^r):²⁰

Quam in excudenda Homeri Iliade latina diligentiam antea adhibuimus, eandem nunc etiam praestitimus in imprimenda Odyssea, itaque quod ad singulas chartas earumque numeros, paginas et versus attinet, eadem hic omnia sunt, atque in Homero graeco ex aeditione Aldina, versuum numero insuper a nobis adjecto. Quod ideo a nobis factum est, ut qui Poetam hunc graecum legunt, eundem etiam habeant latinum ita excusum, ut uno intuitu omnia in utroque videre possint.

In the *Iliad*, however, at least in Book 1, Divus' version represents virtually a new start. When Leontius began translating Homer, the task was almost beyond his capabilities; however, by the time he had reached the *Odyssey* his understanding of Homeric Greek and his command of Latin had

¹⁸ *Homeri . . . Odyssea, Andrea Divo Justinopolitano interprete, ad verbum translata* (Jacob a Burgofranco: Venetiis 1537).

¹⁹ For the opening lines of Leontius' *Odyssey*, see Pertusi (above, note 3) 441.

²⁰ There are three Aldine editions of Homer: 'Ομήρου Ἰλιάς etc., *Homeri Ilias* etc., ed. by A. P. Manutius, 2 vols. (in aedibus Aldi: Venetiis 1504, 1517 and 1524). The first edition is without pagination, which is added to the subsequent reprints.

improved considerably. But Divus must have had Leontius' *Iliad*, for there is too much odd vocabulary common to them both which cannot be explained by a common word-list. Divus generally made sense of Homer, but occasionally follows Leontius' mistranslations, as for example in lines 352 and 564 of Book 1:

μητερ, ἐπεὶ μ' ἔτεκές γε μινυνθάδιόν περ ἑόντα

Leontius Mater postquam me peperisti parve viteque existentem

Divus Mater postquam me peperisti brevis temporis existentem

εἰ δ' οὕτω τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐμοὶ μέλλει φίλον εἶναι

Leontius Si sic hoc est michi debet amicum esse

Divus Si autem sic hoc est: mihi debet charum esse

In 352, the sense requires a causal conjunction, not the temporal *postquam*. In 564, μέλλει (glossed ἔοικε) is more correctly rendered in the Vatican version by *videtur*.

Divus was helped in his revision by the Attic paraphrase of the Homeric Greek which could be extracted from the *scholia minora* and had been the basis of the Byzantine paraphrases of Michael Psellos and Manuel Moschopoulos,²¹ and of the paraphrase made in Renaissance Italy by Theodorus Gaza.²² This Greek *interpretatio* had been transmitted with many of the texts of the *Iliad* in manuscript, and was printed with the text for the first time in the edition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* published at Basle in 1535.²³ From extant papyri, the *scholia minora* can be dated to Athenian times. However, not all the material they contain can be of Athenian origin.²⁴ The Athenian schoolboy, like the beginner at Rome and Byzantium, might have needed to know that ἄειδε, the second word of the poem, is a Homeric form of ᾄδε, but the reductive gloss that follows, λέγε, is probably of a later date. Psellos begins, τὴν ὀργὴν εἰπέ, ὦ θεά. Moschopoulos begins more pedantically, ὦ θεὰ Καλλίope, εἰπὲ ἀκριβῶς τῇ ἐμμελίᾳ ποιητικῇ. Gaza begins, τὴν ὀργὴν εἰπὲ ἡμῖν, ὦ θεά. There are many other reductive interpretations which progressively wander away from Homer's words in an attempt to explicate the poem in the simplest possible

²¹ Pertusi (above, note 3) 455–57 prints the opening 42 lines from the first book of the *Iliad* of the paraphrases of Psellos and Moschopoulos.

²² The paraphrase of Theodorus Gaza is printed in N. Theseus (ed.), 'Ομήρου Ἰλιάς μετὰ παλαιᾶς παραφράσεως . . . τοῦ Θεοδώρου Γάζα (Florence 1811–12).

²³ 'Ομήρου Ἰλιάς καὶ Ὀδύσσεια μετὰ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως, *Homeri Ilias et Ulyssea cum interpretatione* (apud J. Hervagium: Basileae 1535).

²⁴ See H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin 1969) I xi, where Erbse writes of the *scholia minora*: "nam reliquias eorum interpretamentorum continent, quae pueri Athenienses Homeri intelligendi causa inde a quinto a. Chr. n. saeculo in schola discebant. . . Etiam nonnullis papyris satis antiquis prorsus evincitur fundamentum illorum scholiorum ante aetatem Hellenisticam iactum esse."

form. The *scholia minora* transmit a variety of material of varying value, ranging from the important explanations of rare words and ἅπαξ λεγόμενα that re-appear in Eustathius and the scholia of Venetus A to the crudest Byzantine gloss. Many of Divus' renderings ultimately derive from a not very discriminating use of these scholia or from the paraphrase based upon them and are therefore at one remove from the primary text. For example, Psellos in his paraphrase consistently has μακροβόλος for ἐκπρόβολος, which Divus translates *longejaculans*. *Longe* is the Latin equivalent in the early Graeco-Latin lexica of μακρο- in compound words, and Divus has chosen *jaculans* to render -βολος. It is an unthinking choice, for *jaculor* is not a suitable word for an archer, as it denotes the action of throwing a missile from the hand. It is doubtful whether *longe* can mean "from far off." Literally, *longejaculans* means "throwing . . . a long way off." Leontius' *procul sagittans*, "shooting arrows from afar," does convey coherent meaning, whereas the Latin of Divus is stranger than the Greek, and, unlike the Greek, cannot be explained etymologically. The scholiast has ἔκαθεν, ὃ ἐστι πόρρωθεν βάλλοντος, εὐστόχου τοξότου. Divus has not heeded the scholiast but has seen fit to alter Leontius. He may have been working directly from the paraphrase. This seems unlikely as μακροβόλος has not found its way into the printed Graeco-Latin lexica. Or he may have picked up the phrase from another translator.²⁵ But however it came to him, the result is scarcely felicitous. Another more felicitous word that is probably derived from the paraphrase is *pulchricoma*, translating καλλικόμη glossing ἡκόμος (36), the epithet of Leto.

Right at the outset of its printing, the history of the *versio* is a complicated affair. There are two editions of Divus published in Venice in 1537, one by Jacob a Burgofrancho, who also published Divus' translations of Aristophanes in 1538 and of Theocritus in 1539, and another by Melchior Sessa.²⁶ Both contain the same general preface by Divus addressed to Pier Paulo Vergerio the younger, and the same claim about the relation to the Aldine edition, except that the edition of Sessa omits *versuum numero insuper a nobis adjecto*, as, though the pages are numbered, the lines are not. Nor do the page numbers in the edition of Sessa actually correspond, as do those of Jacob a Burgofrancho, to those of the Aldine edition. It might seem from this that the edition of Sessa is simply an inferior pirated edition, except that it is surprising to find that the version has been revised and that the revisions, in about eighty places in Book 1, are for the most part improvements on what seems to have been the authorised version. There are some corrections of mistakes. For example, the rendering of the Greek

²⁵ Professor Knauer has pointed out to me that *longe jaculantis* translating ἐκάτοιο occurs in the opening line of the version of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo by Georgius Dartona Cretensis. See volume two of the edition of Divus published by Burgofrancho, f. 219.

²⁶ *Homeri . . . Ilias, Andrea Divo Justinopolitano interprete, ad verbum translata* (Jacob a Burgofrancho: Venetiis 1537) and *Homeri Ilias, Andrea Divo Justinopolitano interprete, ad verbum translata* (M. Sessa: Venetiis 1537).

ἐκπαγλώτατε (146) is changed from *splendissime* to *formidolissime*. When Chryseis is said to be not inferior to Clytemnestra οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φῆν (115), *neque corpore neque aetate* is changed to *neque corpore neque forma* (which had been the rendering of Leontius too). When Achilles complains to Agamemnon, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πόλιν ἐξεπράθομεν, τὰ δέδασται (125), "But what we took from the cities by storm has been distributed," *sed partim quidem ex urbibus depredati sunt, partim vero divisa est* is changed to *sed quae quidem ex urbibus depredati sumus, haec vero divisa sunt*. At 452 (ἴφι ἀνάσσεις), *generose imperas* is changed to *potenter imperas*. There are also changes that are the result of reading the scholia and other ancillary material. When Agamemnon says that he is minded to take Chryseis home, he envisages her weaving at the loom and ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιώσαν (31); *instruentem*, which implies that she is to be a maidservant, is changed to *mei lecti participem existentem*, which is an ugly formulation but does translate the meaning as clearly given in glosses in the scholia, ἀντιλαμβανομένην and μετέχουσαν. Agamemnon quite clearly prefers her to his wife Clytemnestra, κουριδῆς ἀλόχου (114), which is changed from *puellari* to *legitimae*, a more thoughtful rendering (supported by Liddell and Scott) and one that is not this time prompted by the gloss in the scholia, παρθενικῆς. When Achilles tells Thetis of Apollo's anger, which causes the Greeks to die ἐπασσύτεροι (383), *frequentes* is improved to *coacervati* from the glosses ἐπάλληλοι and πυκνοί. Yet despite these corrections and intelligent renderings of difficult words, the errors of Leontius discussed above (in lines 352 and 564) remain uncorrected. Since it was the "authorised" version of Divus that was reprinted, the improvements in the version published by Sessa did not subsequently become part of the tradition, but they do show how much room for improvement there was in the authorised version of 1537.

The version of Divus was designed to be read with the Greek text. It was only a matter of time before an enterprising printer produced an edition of Homer which contained both text and translation (rather like the modern Loeb). The first Graeco-Latin edition of Homer, published in Basle in 1551,²⁷ was superintended by the scholar-printer Johannes Oporinus, who as a young man had worked for the great Froben and had received financial support from Erasmus. He had been professor of Greek at the Collegium Sapientiae in Basle before becoming a printer and he had also acted for four years as an assistant to Paracelsus. In the preface to the edition of Homer, he laments the ignorance of Greek in northern Europe, a deficiency he doubtless felt it was his mission to remedy, for he produced many editions of the Greek classics first published by him north of the Alps. Nothing is

²⁷ *Poetarum omnium seculorum longe principis Homeri omnia quae quidem extant opera, Graece, adjecta versione Latina ad verbum, ex diversis doctissimorum virorum translationibus concinnata* etc. (per N. Bryling. & B. Calybaeum: Basileae 1551).

known about the circumstances surrounding the composition of the first printed edition of the *versio* by Divus, but from a bundle of letters written by Joannes Vuolphius of Zurich,²⁸ we can see something of the effort that went into the making of what promised to be a splendid landmark in publishing history. Oporinus evidently entrusted the main task of the edition to Vuolphius. The first two letters concern the Greek text. Vuolphius has an Aldine edition and Oporinus supplied other unnamed editions, which Vuolphius proposed to compare with the Aldine. Subsequently, he decided to reprint the Strasbourg text, first edited by Joannes Lonicerus, which he judged to be better than the Aldine. In the letter of July 1544,²⁹ the plan for the edition has been clarified and is to include a *versio* (f. 369):

Ad XV Cal. Jun. dedisti ad me litteras Oporine, ex quibus quod in Homeri versione fieri velles intellexi . . . At q[ui]a hoc tuum institutum (ut prius) celari debet, nolui multos huius laboris fieri participes, ne hac ratione plures etiam tuum consilium resciscerent, eoque Sebastianum accessi, atque effeci ut is esset laborum socius, quod et tibi probari maxime videbatur. Itaque accepi exemplar Collini, et illud Glareani quod tu misisti ad Frisium, et aliam cuiusdam Itali versionem, quas omnes confero, et quod optimum in his videtur, in hanc meam pono.

From this we can conclude that the edition was to be a secret, that Vuolphius had assistance for the *versio* (in addition to Sebastianus, in the letter of February 1545 [f. 370] he mentions another scholar engaged in its composition by the name of Clauserus) and that Oporinus had gone to some trouble to provide Vuolphius with two existing versions³⁰ in addition to the Italian manuscript that he had in his possession. Vuolphius says he will collate the three and take the best for his own, a very reasonable plan. In the last letter (f. 372), dated August 1545, he tells Oporinus that he has sent the *Iliad* translation and promises that Sebastianus, who together with

²⁸ See M. Steinmann, "Johannes Oporinus," *Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft* 105 (1967) 141–42. The letters he mentions and to which reference is made in this study are available in manuscript in the library of the University of Basle (Universitätsbibliothek, Fr. Gr. I 11, fols. 367–72^v).

²⁹ Steinmann (previous note) 142 gives the date as 1545. The final number is not clearly legible. However, the rest of the letters are in chronological order and the content subsequently moves on to later stages of the production, so that 1544 seems more likely.

³⁰ A version of about a third of the *Iliad* (ending at 8. 26) by Henricus Glareanus (Heinrich Loriti, 1488–1563) survives in manuscript; see Ljubljana, Narodna in Univerzitetna knjižnica, 197 (Kristeller [above, note 12] V 443b). For the first fifteen lines of the version, see P. Simoniti, "Glareanov latinski prevod Iliade," *ZAnt* 34 (1984) 192 f. Having examined the manuscript, Professor Knauer (to whom I am indebted for information about the two versions mentioned in this note) dates it between 1520/21 and 1539. A complete Latin version of the *Iliad*, bearing the date 1536 and the name Rudolphus Gualtherus Tigurinus, may be a copy of the version of his teacher Collinus (Rudolf Ambuhl, 1499–1578). See Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C. 119b (Kristeller [above, note 12] V 153b).

Clauserus had worked on the *Iliad*, would translate the *Odyssey* before the year was out. The printing difficulties were considerable, for Oporinus' underlings were at first unable to read the *characteres* of the manuscript (fols. 370 and 371). The edition did not appear until 1551.

In the printer's preface to the reader, Oporinus idealistically explains that he has added the *ad verbum* Latin version *e regione, optimis quibusdam interpretibus usus*, having used the best interpreters, so that youngsters so far put off by the difficulty of the task might have a text that they can read by day and by night (echoing Horace's *vos exemplaria graeca / nocturna versate diu versate diurna*, AP 268–69) and so that older people can get a taste of Homer's wisdom and can gradually with some effort attain a perfect understanding of the language: *Non ut vivam, ob hoc, praelectoris vocem . . . parvi ducendam . . . et mutis tantummodo hisce literis, quibus freti, saepissime tum sensus tum ipsorum thematum diversa investigatione decipiuntur, inhaerere studeant* ("Not that they may on that account consider the living voice of the teacher to be of no account and may be keen to stick to the dumb texts relying on which they are often deceived in their various enquiry both into the sense and the themes themselves"). As a former teacher of Greek, who may well have explicated the text of Homer in the Collegium Sapientiae in Basle as Callistus had done in Florence, Oporinus knew the limitations of the teach-yourself method. All the indications are that the edition was a serious undertaking, the purpose of which was not primarily to make money or even to achieve a publishing coup, but to fulfil a real educational need in the best Erasmian tradition. It therefore comes as a great shock to find that the *versio* is a frightful mess, much inferior to the Venetian Divus in either manifestation. In the first eight lines there are three errors of tense (5, 6 and 8). The version of line 8 is particularly bad:

τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;

Quisque sane ipsos Deorum contentionem commiserit pugnare

Whereas in Divus intelligent use of the scholia had sometimes led to improved readings, particularly in the version published by Sessa, the 1551 version is quite unintelligent in its incorporation of glosses. Vuolphius had before him the edition of the *scholia minora* published in 1539 at Strasbourg with the title 'Ομήρου Ἑξηγητής, *Homeri interpretes*.³¹ He confessed (f. 369), *multum etiam Graecis scholiis iuvare videor quas Vendelinus Rihelius Argentinae impressit* ("I seem to be helped by the scholia which Vendelinus Rihelius has printed at Strasbourg"). Occasionally his use of the scholia bears good fruit. The phrase *eminus ferientis* for ἐκηβόλου (4), though ugly, makes better sense than

³¹ 'Ομήρου Ἑξηγητής, *Homeri interpretes* etc., ed. by Jacobus Bedrotus (per Vuendelinum Rihelium: Argentorati 1539).

longejaculantis of Divus, and ἀντιόωσαν (31) is rendered correctly as *participantem*. But, generally speaking, the glosses incorporated into the 1551 version are of the most reductive kind: *dic* (1) from λέγε for ἄειδε; *Graecis* (2) from Ἑλλήσι glossing Ἀχαιοῖς; *fecit* (2) from ἐποίησε for ἤκε, which must have a more forceful meaning than “made,” if only something like “wrought” or perhaps “ordained” (as in Liddell and Scott); *generosas* (3) from γενναίους for ἰφθίμους, where γενναίους is a second gloss following ἰσχυράς (giving the translation *fortes* in Leontius, Divus and subsequent versions). The secondary gloss in this instance is not reductive; it simply adds to the associations of the Homeric word. But it is typical of the 1551 version that it wanders away from the primary meaning; the choice of secondary glosses results in a consistently weakened and watered-down version, which is not actually what a beginner or anyone else for that matter requires. It is confusing for a beginner to be faced with *dic* for ἄειδε. Conversely, even a beginner does not need to be told that the birds that will rend the corpses of heroes are *carnivoris* (5), derived from σαρκοφάγοις, a most redundant Byzantine gloss. The 1551 version has a persistent, unhelpful and almost perverse tendency to avoid direct translation. Apollo’s arrows that are rendered in all other versions by the obvious equivalent *sagittae* are *jacula* (51) or *missilia* (53), not the most appropriate words in context. Equally silly is the Latin chosen for νυκτὶ ἐοικώς (47), *nocte adsimilatus*, rendered in all other versions as *nocte similis*. Where translationese might be helpfully suggestive in a phrase like δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγή (49), which in other versions is *terribilis autem clangor*, in 1551 it is *vehemens vero sonitus*. At least this is good Latin, but of all the versions that of 1551 is decidedly the worst in its Latin usage: *Perdentem* (2) for οὐλομένην needs an object. All the versions are replete with cumbersome and ugly phrasing but *lacerationes fabricavit* (4) is worse than any of the other renderings of ἐλώρια τεῦχε and does not have the merit of being any more accurate. In line 12, *currentes* for θοάς is a strange choice. The general lack of grip may be illustrated in one telling final point. At line 202, αἰγίόχοιο is rendered *aegidem habentis*, but at 222 is the extraordinary translation *capram lactantis*.

Evidently the Italian version which Vuolphius had in his possession was by Leontius, not by Divus. Given that Divus had been printed in Paris and Lyons as well as in Venice,³² it is strange that Oporinus, who provided Vuolphius with recent helpful Greek texts and two manuscript *versiones*, did not also provide him with the printed version of Divus. In the event, Vuolphius and his assistants were clearly not up to the task. From his address to the reader, it is evident that Oporinus knew the difficulties faced by students who were wholly reliant on a *versio* without the mediating influence of a *praeceptor*. Either he did not give clear instructions to his

³² *Homeri Ilias* etc. (in officina C. Wecheli: Parisiis 1538 and Lugduni 1538).

team in Zurich, who were working at some distance from his own seat of operations in Basle, or the team did not have the wit to think them through and carry them out properly. Their *versio* is not a proper *clavis*, as its words are at one remove from the Greek. Johannes Vuolphius is the John Wolf of Zurich (1527–1571) who later became professor of theology there.³³ At this time he was a young man and the Homer edition seems to have been his first scholarly venture. There is no record of further work done by him on any of the Greek classics. Oporinus had been a professor of Greek; could he not have found an established Greek scholar for a task in which he evidently believed? Most of the Homeric scholarly enterprise in Italy had been undertaken or supported indirectly by the expertise of Greek-speaking representatives of the old Byzantine culture.³⁴ The first Graeco-Latin edition produced by Oporinus was also the first major development in Homeric publishing that did not have this sustaining background presence. The venture sadly bears out his own lament for the ignorance of Greek in northern Europe in his time.

Oporinus cannot escape blame for the iniquity of the version. In fact, as its commissioning editor the prime responsibility lay at his door. It is not as if the work was a rushed job either. Six years elapsed between Vuolphius' submission of the version of the *Iliad* and its printing in 1551. Yet, if it is true that Oporinus was responsible for upwards of 700 books, at one time employing more than fifty workmen,³⁵ then it is hardly surprising that he had little time to scrutinise the quality of the scholarly work he commissioned. When he came to organise a second edition (published in Basle in 1561),³⁶ Oporinus turned to Sebastianus Castalio, an experienced scholar who immediately saw what Oporinus must also have known after publication if not before that the *versio* was wholly inadequate. In the case

³³ See Steinmann (above, note 28) 142.

³⁴ The *editio princeps* (Nerlius: Florence 1488), containing the whole work together with the *Lives* of Homer attributed to Plutarch and Herodotus and the *Oration* of Dion, was the work of the Greek Demetrius Chalcondylas, from whom the first publication of all the Greek material relating to Homer may be traced in a direct line. A Greek pupil of his, Janus Lascaris, also a protégé of the Greek Cardinal Bessarion, did the work for the *editio princeps* of the *scholia minora*, Σχόλια παλαιὰ τῶν πάντων δοκίμων εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα, ed. by J. Lascaris (in gymnasio Mediceo: Rome 1517), and for the *editio princeps* of the *Quaestiones* of Porphyrius, Πορφυρίου φιλοσόφου Ὀμηρικὰ ζητήματα etc., *Porphyrii Philosophi Homerocarum Quaestionum Liber* etc. (in gymnasio Mediceo: Rome 1518). Lascaris and Marcus Musurus had prevailed upon the Medicean Pope, Leo X, to establish the Greek college, the Gymnasium Collini Montis, on the Quirinal, of which Lascaris became rector and professor of Greek. From this college came the first edition of Eustathius, prepared by two of Lascaris' pupils: Εὐσταθίου . . . Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν, μετὰ πίνακος, by Matteus Devarius, with the text edited by Nicolaus Maioranus, 4 vols. (in gymnasio Mediceo: Rome 1542–50).

³⁵ See J. Aldis, *The Printed Book: The Original Manual . . . revised . . . by John Carter and Brooke Crutchley*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge 1951) 26.

³⁶ *Homeri opera Graecolatina quae quidem nunc extant, omnia, . . . cum Latina interpretatione . . . In haec operam suam contulit S. Castalio*, etc. (per N. Brylingerum: Basileae 1561).

of the *Iliad*, he declares quite openly that he has substituted without revising the *versio* of Divus that had recently been reissued also without revision by Crispinus in Geneva in 1560. As Crispinus had not yet produced an *Odyssey* (this did not materialise until 1567), Castalio was forced to revise the 1551 version of Sebastianus himself. He reported that except for the later books, which were not quite so bad (Sebastianus, like Leontius, evidently improved with practice but neither scholar had the intellectual or professional pride to correct his own work), he was not so much a corrector as the original translator: *innumeris in locis non tam correctorem quam interpretem*. The editions of Divus published in Venice, Paris and Lyons must not have been known in Basle, as Castalio, who admitted that more work needed to be done than he was prepared to do, would not have scrupled to reprint the Latin *Odyssey* of Divus as well. He implies that he had undertaken the task unwillingly: *Efflagitavit a me Oporinus primum ut in Homerum operam aliquam navarem . . . maluissem in meliora operam impendere*. At the end of his preface, Castalio, who had taught Greek but was more of a theologian than a classical scholar, confesses that his interest in Homer had been a youthful enthusiasm before he had fully seen the Christian light. Once again, Oporinus failed to engage a scholar with the dedication necessary for the task, though perhaps it could be said that Castalio served Homer better than Vuolphius and his assistants.

The Basle editions of Homer are magnificent folio volumes, handsome in appearance, even if that appearance to some extent belies their contents. The Genevan editions that followed, emanating from the press of another scholar-printer, Jean Crespin, represent another publishing landmark and also mark a new stage in the history of the *versio*. Crispinus' first edition of the Greek only in 1559 is an *enchiridion*,³⁷ a small sedecimo volume of the kind produced earlier in the sixteenth century for the Latin classics by the Lyonesse publisher Sebastian Gryphius.³⁸ His preface recalls the famous anecdote in Plutarch that Alexander the Great had carried around an *enchiridion* of the *Iliad* on his campaigns in Asia.³⁹ More ambitiously, in the next year he brought out the first sedecimo Graeco-Latin text:⁴⁰ *Quod plerique typographi excudendis hac forma Latinis Poetis magna cum laude factitarunt: id nos his primum typis cum magna et operarum et operis difficultate in gratiam studiose iuventutis, quae ὀξυδερκία valet, in Graecis poetis tentavimus*. The Latin version *e regione* (on the left hand side) is for those *tyrones* who are new to Greek literature. He says further: *Quotquot sane antehac edita ad verbum fuerunt exemplaria diligenter contulimus, adhibita insuper veteri et manu scripta Itali cuiusdam interpretatione, quam*

³⁷ Ἡρωικά. Ὅμηρου Ἰλιάς, *Homeri Ilias, id est, de rebus ad Troiam gestis* (e typographia J. Crispini Atrebatii: [Geneva] 1559).

³⁸ On Gryphius, see Aldis (above, note 35) 28.

³⁹ Plutarch, *Alex.* 8. 2.

⁴⁰ With the same title as the 1559 edition (above, note 37).

nos ex magni Budaei bibliotheca accepimus. Although this gives the impression that he has collated versions which had been previously published (which can only have been those of Divus and the Basle edition of 1551), in fact he has simply reprinted the “authorised” version of Divus, presumably from the manuscript in Budé’s library, with no revision. Some years later came the Graeco-Latin edition of the *Odyssey* (preceded as in the case of the *Iliad* by a plain text of the *Odyssey* in the same year, 1567).⁴¹ The preface to the reader by Crispinus strikes a new note. Where previously there had been self-congratulation (in Crispinus’ case quite justifiably since a sedecimo Graeco-Latin edition is indeed a great technical feat), here for the first time is self-defence.

Just as many early humanists despised the *ad verbum* method and execrated the version of Leontius Pilatus, a persistent strain in humanism continued to look askance at *versiones* composed on the *ad verbum* principle. On their first printing in 1537, the versions of Divus had been immediately criticised by the German humanist and pupil of Melancthon, Joachim Camerarius, in the preface to his own explication of the first book of the *Iliad*, published in 1538, to which he appended a translation in Latin hexameters.⁴² Even if the translator finds good Latin words, he argues, what is the profit, if they are not made to obey the laws of Latin syntax and grammar? Given differences between the two languages, whoever tries to learn Greek by way of an *ad verbum* version is likely not only to fail to learn Greek but also seriously to corrupt his Latin. The *ad verbum* versions corrupt both the matter and manner of the original as well as obscuring and degrading them and so should be shunned like the plague. In school Camerarius recommends that they should be used, if they must be used at all, as a warning example by which pupils can learn a proper method of translation.

In the 1567 preface, Crispinus apologises to the reader for the several years’ delay in producing the *Odyssey*, saying that it was due to second thoughts about the *versio* (perhaps prompted by reactions to his Graeco-Latin *Iliad* similar to that of Camerarius to the same version in 1538). He has taken great pains to see that the version is more correct than in previous editions. He then writes at length about the deficiencies of such versions, referring to them collectively as a *horridum et spinosum loquendi genus* whose practitioners sometimes contrive to make the Latin more obscure than the Greek (he may have had the Basle edition of 1551 in his sights here). How often they fail to make proper sense. How poorly the Latin words correspond to the Greek. And how ludicrous is the final result. The

⁴¹ Ὅμηρου Ὀδύσσεια, *Homeri Ulyssea, id est, de rebus ab Ulysse gestis* (e typographia J. Crispini Atrebatii: [Geneva] 1567).

⁴² *Commentarius Explicationis primi libri Iliados Homeri, Ioachimi Camerarii . . . Eiusdem libri primi Iliados conversio in Latinos versus, eodem auctore* etc. (impressum in officina C. Mylii: Argentorati 1538).

ad verbum method is unsatisfactory because there is so much debate about the actual meaning of the words in so many places; even in the case of a talented interpreter religious adherence to the words of the original produces something that is alien to good linguistic usage and knowledge; what is required in the interpretation of words is something proper that makes sense. He then claims to have provided a *versio* that, while following the original closely, is neither obscure nor disagreeable, having made use of the work of a scholar who has examined the better versions and made corrections of his own.

Let us compare the opening lines of the printed versions of the *Odyssey*, juxtaposing Divus (1537), Sebastianus (1551), Castalio (1561) and Crispinus (1567):

1537	Virum mihi dic musa multiscium qui valde multum
1551	Virum dic mihi Musa versutum qui valde multum
1561	Virum dic mihi Musa versutum qui valde multum
1567	Virum dic mihi Musa versutum qui valde multum
1537	Erravit ex quo Troyae sacram urbem depopulatus est
1551	Erravit postquam Troiae sacrum oppidum evertit
1561	Erravit postquam Troiae sacrum urbem evertit
1567	Erravit postquam Troiae sacrum oppidum diripuit
1537	Multorum autem hominum vidit urbes et mentem cognovit
1551	Multorum autem hominum vidit urbes et muros cognovit
1561	Multorum autem hominum vidit urbes et mentem cognovit
1567	Multorum autem hominum urbes vidit et mores novit
1537	Multos autem hic in mari passus est angustias proprio in animo
1551	Plurimos vero ille in Ponto passus est dolores suo in animo
1561	Plurimos vero ille in mari passus est dolores suo in animo
1567	Plurimos vero ille in mari passus est dolores suo in animo
1537	Liberans propriamque animam et reditum sociorum
1551	Magna cura servans suamque animam et reditum sociorum
1561	Magna cura servans suamque animam et reditum sociorum
1567	Magna cura servans suamque animam et reditum sociorum
1537	Sed neque sic socios liberavit cupiens quamvis
1551	Sed neque sic servavit socios tametsi cupidus
1561	Sed neque sic servavit socios tametsi cupidus
1567	Sed neque sic eripuit socios tametsi cupidus
1537	Ipsorum enim propriis stultitiis perierunt
1551	Sua autem ipsorum insipientia perierunt
1561	Sua enim ipsorum insipientia perierunt
1567	Suis enim ipsorum nequitiis perierunt
1537	Fatui qui boves Hyperonidae Solis
1551	Stulti qui boves super gradientis solis
1561	Stulti qui boves sublimis solis

1567	Stulti qui boves supergradientis solis
1537	Comederunt, sed hic his abstulit reditus diem
1551	Comederunt, ast is his abstulit reditus diem
1561	Comederunt, ille vero eis abstulit reditus diem
1567	Comederunt, ast is his abstulit reditus diem

This is too small a sample to draw clear conclusions but the comparison suggests that, by 1567, much of the peculiar vocabulary and many of the awkwardly unidiomatic expressions of Divus had been eliminated. However, most of the work had already been done before 1567 by Sebastianus in 1551, whose *Odyssey* to judge from this small sample is better than Vulphius' *Iliad*, and by Castalio in 1561. The one clear improvement in 1567, *mores novit*, which, unlike *mentem cognovit*, is idiomatic and makes agreeable sense, is likely to have been anticipated in the 1551 version, where *muros* is probably a misreading on the part of Oporinus' compositor for *mores*, and seen as such by the reviser of 1567.

The preface of Crispinus to the *Odyssey* in 1567 signals a new concern for *proprietas Latina* in the version. This concern is manifested in the second and third sedecimo Genevan editions of the *Iliad* in 1570 and 1580. In the preface to the 1570 *Iliad*, the *secunda editio*,⁴³ Crispinus is on the defensive: *Ceterum quam apte in hoc ἐγχειρίδιῳ excudendo, et Latina ad verbum versione ex doctissimorum professorum interpretatione concinnanda feliciter versati simus, eorum esto iudicium qui sine invidia aut malevolo supercilio de rebus iudicant*. In the 1580 edition, the *postrema editio*,⁴⁴ published after his death, his son-in-law Eustace Vignon, who had inherited his printing business, produces a formulation which defines very precisely the task of the skilful interpreter: *est enim sciti interpretis non verborum numerum & ordinem sectari, sed res ipsas & sententias attente perpendere, easque verbis & formulis orationis vestire idoneis, & aptis ei linguae in quem convertitur* ("it is the part of every knowing and judicall interpreter not to follow the number and order of words but the materiall things themselves, and sentences to weigh diligently, and to clothe and adorne them with words and such a stile and form of Oration as are most apt for the language into which they are converted").⁴⁵ Then looking back upon the history of versions of this kind, Vignon defends the crudity of the earlier ones (their *ruditas*) on the grounds that those who made them had the humane desire to accommodate themselves to the needs of *tyrones* whom they wished to help. Then others, realising that their efforts in this kind were not unwelcome to students, worked all the harder to make the fruits of

⁴³ Ἡρωικά. Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάς, *Homeri Ilias, id est, de rebus ad Troiam gestis, Latine ad verbum exposita. Secunda editio* (apud Crispinum: [Geneva] 1570).

⁴⁴ Ἡρωικά. Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάς, *Homeri Ilias, postrema editio . . . Latine omnia ad verbum exposita, et a F. Porto Cretensi innumeris in locis emendata* ([Geneva] 1580).

⁴⁵ The translation is by George Chapman, in the 1611 preface to his translation of the *Iliad*, in *Chapman's Homer*, ed. by A. Nicoll (London 1957) I 17.

their labours more apparent. And so many versions of this kind not only from other hands but also from his printing press saw the light, among which was the version of Homer, but one that was not well corrected (*sed parum emendata*). But at last he has been offered the version which Franciscus Portus revised and cleaned of many errors, *ea quam Fr. Portus Cretensis recognovit, & a plurimis mendis repurgavit*. Franciscus Portus (1511–1581), a Cretan by birth, had taught Greek in Italy before settling in Geneva in 1562 where he was professor of Greek. In this 1580 preface to the *Iliad* with Portus' version, Vignon effectively dismisses the second edition published by his father-in-law in 1570, though its reviser may be said to have initiated the drive to *proprietas Latina*.

Where previous versions of 1. 8 (τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;) reproduce the syntax of the Greek as in Divus' *commisit pugnare*, in 1570 we have *Quisnam ipsos Deorum liti commisit ut pugnarent?* But the drive to *proprietas Latina* is only half-hearted. At line 18 ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν . . . ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν remains unrevised in the Latin prose: *Vobis quidem dii dent . . . expugnare Priami civitatem*. And with lines like *Et navibus dux fuerat Achivorum Ilium ad* (71), translating καὶ νήεσσ' ἡγήσατ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἴλιον εἴσω, there is no seriously sustained attempt to escape the bonds of a rigorously *ad verbum* principle in the interests of a good Latin style.

In other respects, there is no consistent pattern in the revision of 1570. Good and bad are altered quite arbitrarily. In line 3 *inferis misit* of Divus, translating "Αἶδι προΐαψεν, is improved to *Plutoni praemisit*, but in line 6 *divisi sunt contententes*, translating διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε, is weakened to *dissenserunt litigantes*. There are infelicities of various kinds throughout. When Chryses comes *liberaturusque filiam ferensque infinita precia liberationis* (13), there is the redundancy of laboured verbal explication. When Agamemnon dismisses Chryses, *gravem et sermonem mandavit* (25) is not good classical idiom. The choice of *domicilia* (18) for δώματα (of the gods) is inappropriate. When Apollo comes down *ex caeli verticibus* (44), where *caeli* renders Οὐλύμποιο, the sense is absurd, and when he shoots arrows at the Greeks (βάλλε), the choice of the verb *iecit* (52) is again absurd and its sense unhelpful.

These infelicities are ironed out in the Latin of Franciscus Portus in his revision of 1580: *redempturusque filiam, ferens immensum pretium* (13), *dura autem mandata dedit* (25), *caelestos domos* (18), *Olympi de vertice* (44) and *feriebat* (52). It is clear that the interpreter here has a much better grip on both the Greek and the Latin. In countless instances, the version is improved by the use of an idiomatic phrase; as, for example, when Hera puts it in Achilles' mind to call the council, *in animo posuit* (55) improves upon the version of 1570, with *in mentibus posuit* for ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε; *iratus animo* (44) is idiomatically easier than *iratus cor* (1570) for χωόμενος κῆρ. In these instances, Portus abandons religious adherence to an *ad verbum* principle in the interests of an idiomatic version that will read well in Latin.

Like his predecessors, in making his revision Portus has consulted the Greek *interpretatio* in the scholia. In the opening lines, his Latin seems to derive from Greek glosses in the following instances: *consilium* (5) from γνώμη for βουλή; *disiuncti sunt* (6) from διαχωρίσθησαν for διαστήτην; *nobilis* (7) from εὐγενής for δῖος; *immisit* (10) from ἐνέβαλεν for ὥρσε; *pestilentem* (10) from λοιμικὴν for κακὴν; *redempturus* (13) from λυτρωσόμενος for λυσόμενος. But, as might be expected, an established scholar like Portus is much more discriminating in his use of glosses than a novice like Vuolphius. Only in one instance has he definitely replaced a good literal rendering (*suscitavit* for ὥρσε) with an inferior gloss and even here the Latin makes good sense. In the opening lines of Portus' version, a slight departure from the literal Greek results from sensitivity to the Latin derived from the Greek and suggested by it. Despite the scholiast's note drawing attention to the force of the prepositional prefix in προΐαψεν (3), he retained the earlier reading of Vuolphius, *orco demisit*, perhaps recalling a Virgilian echo of this line of Homer at *Aeneid* 9. 527: *quem quisque virum demiserit Orco*. In the next line, the change certainly results from this process of recall:

	αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι
1570	ipsos autem laniamenta fecit canibus Avibus omnibus
1580	ipsos autem praedam dilaniandam fecit canibus Alitibusque omnibus
Virgil	canibus data praeda Latinis Alitibusque jaces. ⁴⁶

We may believe that for Portus the task was not entirely mechanical; here is an intimation of a genuine poetic sensibility.

The revision by Portus in 1580 was a great improvement on the revision of 1570 and, as a result, his is a better version than any that had been made previously. Yet there are various insufficiencies. At 14 *longejaculantis* of Divus is retained. At line 24 ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἦνδανε θυμῷ is garbled in the Latin rendering: *At non Atridae Agamemnonis placuit omnino*. This last word may be a typographical error for *animo*, but on average there is a serious error of some kind, typographical or other, every fifteen lines or so. At 35–36,

πολλὰ δ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κιὼν ἦρ' ἄθ' ὁ γεραῖος
'Απόλλωνι ἄνακτι

multum deinde procul inter eundem precabatur senex
Apollinem regem,

⁴⁶ Virgil, *Aen.* 9. 485–86.

it is more difficult to divine the original of which this might be a corruption. At line 71, the 1570 version above is at least fairly recognisable as Latin. It is difficult to say the same of the rendering of this line in Portus: *et navibus ductus fuit Achivorum Ilium intra*. As this example suggests, the drive to *proprietas Latina* is not systematically sustained in Portus either. When Chryses asks Achilles to swear an oath that he will help him in words and deeds (76–77), while the reviser of 1570 had recast the Greek in order to write good Latin, Portus produces an *ad verbum* rendering that has no proper Latin construction:

	καί μοι ὄμοσσον ἦ μὲν μοι πρόφρων ἔπεσιν καὶ χερσὶν ἀρήξειν
1570	et mihi iura omnino te mihi verbis et manibus opem laturum
1580	et mihi iura certe mihi quidem promptus verbis et manibus auxiliari

These inconsistencies of practice may be the result of insufficient application or of an indecisiveness about the function which the version might best serve. The version of Portus is no longer a *clavis*, nor, though it shows what might be done, is it consistently sound Latin; it is a hybrid form, neither one thing nor the other.

In his magnificent folio edition of 1583, the young French humanist Jean de Sponde promises Homer *cum latina versione . . . emendatissima aliquot locis iam castigatiore*.⁴⁷ This is an important edition as it is the only complete edition of the poems in the whole period from the first edition to the eighteenth century to be accompanied by a commentary, a distillation in Latin of the Greek tradition, which was used by translators from Chapman to Pope. Spondanus used the 1570 version as his base (perhaps because he started work earlier before the 1580 version was available). About one third of the lines are unchanged. Sometimes he retains inferior renderings from 1570 such as the long-winded and tautologous *liberaturusque filiam et ferens infinita precia liberationis* (20), *longejaculantis* (14), *caelestia domicilia* (18), *durumque sermonem mandavit* (25), *ex caeli verticibus* (44). Occasionally he adds something of his own as in *ante tempus* to render the prefix in *προΐαγεν* (3), *capessantem* for *ἀντιώσσαν* (33), not a felicitous rendering, *iniuriouse* for *κακῶς ἀφίει* (25) and *in praecordiis* for *φρεσὶ*, of Achilles (55), which unlike *animo* retains the plural and unlike *mentibus* is idiomatic. He had before him the version of Portus, which in some lines he substitutes for 1570 and in others he amalgamates with it. It is possible to see definite patterns in his use of the version of Portus. He takes the

⁴⁷ *Homeri quae extant omnia . . . cum latina versione omnium quae circumferuntur emendatiss. aliquot locis iam castigatiore . . . perpetuis . . . in Iliada simul et Odysseam J. Spondani . . . commentariis* (Eusebii Episcopii opera et impensa: Basileae 1583).

occasional phrase for clarity's sake, as when Achilles suggests to Agamemnon that a priest be consulted to see if Apollo is angry because of εὐχολῆς (65), rendered in 1570 by *ob vota* and by Portus as *ob vota non reddita*. He preserves a more conservative rendering which had been changed in 1570, for example reverting to *nidorem* (66), "smoke from a sacrifice," for κνίσης, which in 1570 had been incorrectly rendered by the rare word *arvinam* meaning "fat." Thirdly and most frequently he chooses the expression of 1580 when it is more forceful, as in *disiuncti sunt* (6), *contumelia affecerat* (11), *feriebat* (52) and *interrogemus* (62). He does not reject the movement towards *proprietas Latina*, retaining *commisit ut pugnarent* (8), and improving upon both 1570 and Portus in the following lines previously quoted: *Et navibus dux fuit Achivorum ad Ilium* (71) and *et mihi iura / certe quod mihi promptum verbis et manibus te auxiliaturum* (76–77). On the other hand, he rejects the freer recasting of the two Genevan versions as in the case of 76–77 quoted above, where he is more literal than the 1570 version, and in cases where Portus has changed tenses in the interests of fluency or variety. In line 12, when Chryses came to the ships of the Achaeans to ransom his daughter, Portus translates ἤλθε as *venerat*, and when he prays that the Greeks will free her reverencing Apollo, he translates ἄζόμενοι (21) as *veriti*. Spondanus never follows either version in such deviations, preferring instead a literal rendering wherever possible. He endeavours to write sense and to be as literal as possible, eschewing any tendency to elegance. He is more systematic than Portus in his own revision and more consistent in his practice so that he produces a version that is less of a hybrid. In some ways this is the high point of the *versio*, particularly since it is typographically sound and generally well punctuated, improving in these respects on most of his predecessors. Spondanus is one of the very few editors of Homer in the Renaissance and the seventeenth century to give the Greek text, in his attention to the *versio* and in his annotations, the steady and conscientious application that it both needed and deserved.

In 1589, with the publication of the sedecimo edition of Henricus Stephanus,⁴⁸ the history of the Latin version took a curious twist. On the title page Stephanus promises *Homeri poemata duo . . . cum interpretatione Lat. ad verbum, post alias omnes editiones repurgata plurimis erroribus, (et quidem crassis alicubi) partim ab Henrico Stephano, partim ab aliis ut te epistola ad lectorem docebit*. But the epistle to the reader tells a very confusing story.

In his preface, Stephanus feels the need to account for the delay in the appearance of the edition, saying that he has been away and working on other projects. He asks whether in the meantime the appearance of any

⁴⁸ *Homeri poemata duo . . . cum interpretatione Lat. ad verbum, post alias omnes editiones repurgata plurimis erroribus, (& quidem crassis alicubi) partim ab Henr. Stephano, partim ab aliis etc.* ([Geneva] 1589).

other edition might have saved him the trouble. It is slightly surprising that he then mentions the edition of Giphanius published in Strasbourg seventeen years earlier in 1572.⁴⁹ This edition he dismisses out of hand, noting Giphanius' admission that for the Greek text he had simply reprinted the text of Stephanus' own landmark edition of 1566. Perhaps Stephanus refers to this edition partly for reasons of self-advertisement. As for the Latin version used by Giphanius, Stephanus points to what he calls an example of such crass ignorance on its very threshold that the reader can have scarcely any expectations of it. For the words ΙΑΙΑΔΟΣ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ Η ΑΡΑΨΩΔΙΑ are rendered in Latin *Iliados Homeri aut i compositio*, where the Greek article (ἡ) has been mistaken for the particle ἢ, "or," and the genitive form *Iliados* is also wrong. The whole version, as Giphanius states quite openly, is taken from the edition of Crispinus in 1570, together with this unfortunate error (corrected by Portus in 1580). Since the 1570 version contains some intelligent revisions, we must conclude that the headnote was probably a crudely botched job on the part of an ignorant compositor which was not spotted by either the reviser, who may have had nothing to do with the actual process of printing, or by Crispinus. There is no mention in Stephanus' preface of the more recent edition of Spondanus, prompting the thought that this preface may have been written considerably earlier than its date of publication in 1589. When Stephanus finally comes to fulfil the promise of his title page, what he says about the composition of the version is very difficult to comprehend (sig. 8^r):

Hoc enim tantum dico. Si quis quam multa etiam post Franciscum Portum, et quidem in ipso etiam Fr. Porto emendata fuerint, atque adeo emendari debuerint, perpendat, fassurum esse, non iniuria me interpretatione illius acquiescere noluisse: etiamsi in primo Iliadis libro eam magna ex parte sequutus essem. Quum enim officina typographica illum primum librum ad finem perduxisset, ego attentius interpretationem illius examinans, eam illi remisi, et ut recognosceret rogavi. Verum quod ab illo postulabam, et obtinere non poteram, tandem partim a me ipso, partim ab ipso postulare et impetrare necesse habui.

I have only this to say. If anyone weighs up how many errors even after Franciscus Portus and indeed in Franciscus Portus himself might be corrected and indeed ought to be corrected, he will acknowledge that it is not without justice that I was unable to acquiesce in his interpretation even if in the first book of the *Iliad* I followed it for the most part. But when the printing office had gone through to the end of the first book, looking over his interpretation more closely, I first sent it back to him and asked that he revise it. But because I could not get what I was requesting from him, in the end I decided it necessary to ask and demand it partly from myself and partly from himself.

⁴⁹ 'Ομήρου 'Ιλιάς ἢ μᾶλλον ἅπαντα τὰ σφζόμενα, *Homeri Ilias, seu potius omnia eius quae extant opera. Studio et cura Ob. Giphanii* etc. (Theodosius Rihelius: Argentorati 1572).

It appears from this that Stephanus had originally used the version of Portus, published in 1580, as his base for revision, if indeed he had revised at all. Only when Book 1 had come back from the printer had he rightly realised that it needed systematic revision. So he sent it back to Portus for more work. But herein lies a problem, for Portus had in fact died in 1581, only a year after the publication of his version, and since he was resident professor of Greek in Geneva where Stephanus also had his printing press and from where the 1589 edition seems to have been published (there is no indication of place of publication in the book; some catalogues give Paris) it is difficult to suppose that Stephanus, even if at this late stage of his career he had embarked upon his nomadic existence, could have been unaware of his death. In the Latin quoted, it may be that in *obtinere non poteram* Portus' death is to be inferred, but this is a very strained reading. In the Genevan edition of 1570, Crispinus had published a brief introduction to the Homeric poems written by Portus with the prefatory exhortation: *Verum ipsum Portum praeferentem, quum secundum Iliadis interpretationem publice aggressus est, audiamus*. It seems likely from this that Portus had a *versio* as early as 1570 for the purposes of public lectures, i.e. for explication of the text in the tradition of Leontius and Callistus, and that Stephanus had seen it in manuscript. This might account for what otherwise is a curious distinction between *post Franciscum Portum*, which might refer to the general enlightenment afforded by his public explication of the text, and *in Fr. Porto*, which must refer to his actual version itself. In this case Stephanus' own preface, published in 1589, may well have been written years earlier. This might account for the lengthy discussion of the edition of Giphanius of 1572 and the failure to mention Spondanus of 1583. But there remains the problem of the final sentence. What can *ab ipso* mean? Perhaps it might be understood to mean from Portus' version, that is, Stephanus felt it necessary to seek changes both from his own hand and from the version of Portus that he had used originally. In saying initially that he had followed Portus for the most part, he does allow the implication that he had another *versio*. Perhaps the meaning is that after Book 1 returned from the printer, he consulted Portus more thoroughly a second time. This interpretation is very strained indeed, but it does have the merit that it fits the facts of the case, for it is most surprising to find that in Book 1 Stephanus has used as his base the much inferior version of Vuolphius of 1551, to which he did indeed make changes himself with help from the 1580 version of Portus.

More than any previous reviser, Stephanus boldly departs from the form of the Greek: Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή (5) is rendered by *ac Iovis consilium exitum habuit*, and in the previous line he keeps the more elegant Latin of Portus, *praedam dilaniandam*. Some of his alterations (tending as here to abstraction of the concrete and physical) move away from the simplicity of Homer's style in the interests of good Latin, introducing elegant touches or emphatic expression beyond anything in Spondanus. He

writes, for example, *preces fundebat* (35) for *precabatur* (1551, 1580), *habet imperium* (79) for *imperat* (1551) or *dominatur* (1580), *ut ad finem perducatur* (82) for *donec perfecerit* (1551, 1580), *cum summa fiducia* (85) for *confisus valde* (1551, 1580). He also makes a number of changes which are not so much for elegance as to improve the clarity of the Latin so that it makes sense more easily, changing, for example, *his vero surrexit* (68) to *inter illos vero surrexit*. The addition of *illius* gives a clear construction to the following: *sonuerunt vero tela in humeris illius irati* (46). Similar is the addition of *est* in the line *potentior enim rex est quum irascitur viro inferiori* (80). The addition of *viae* clarifies the role of Calchas: *et navibus viae dux fuerat Graecorum ad Ilium* (71). The author of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (1572), whose father Robert had produced the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (1532), was ideally equipped for the task, if he had chosen to give it the attention it needed. Unfortunately he made the task more difficult for himself by his inexplicable decision to use the version of 1551 as his base. He takes idiomatic expressions from Portus, as in *dura mandata dedit* (25), but there are many traces of the unidiomatic and cumbersome expressions of 1551. Why did Stephanus leave *commisit pugnare* (8) unamended, when he obviously did not conceive of the *versio* in the narrowest terms as an *ad verbum clavis*? He retains *depopulari Priami urbem* (19) instead of the better *expugnare* (1580), *jaculis* (42) for arrows, and *priusquam ipsam senium invadit* (29) and *nocti adsimilatus* for the simpler and more natural expressions *antequam ipsam senectus adeat* and *nocti similis*. The combination of a move to elegance with the ungainly expression of 1551 sometimes produces a portentous effect. In 1580, where Portus retained the simple version of Divus at line 85, *confisus valde dic vaticinium quod scis*, Stephanus has *tu summa cum fiducia dicito quodcumque novisti*. Here the first half is his own change and the second comes from 1551. He occasionally leaves odd additional phrases from 1551 like *undique in qui Chrysen undique tueris* (37) and *per vices in illum vero per vices respondens allocutus est pedibus celer Achilles* (84). The problem with Stephanus' version, therefore, is not so much what he changes as what he leaves unchanged. Nor does he seem to have made much use of the scholia, or he would have had better renderings for *orco demisit* (3) and *dissenserunt contententes* (6). A change early in the first book that does result from a glance at the scholia only serves to suggest that Stephanus' mind was not fully engaged in the task of revision. When Agamemnon says that he will take Chryseis home to Argos, the scholiast explains that Argos is in the Peloponnese, a gloss perhaps helpful to a Byzantine pupil or to a beginner in 1589. But to substitute *in Peloponneso* (30) for Argos in the version itself (it is in no other before and not generally repeated) can only cause confusion. Although Stephanus has naturally eliminated the gross errors of 1551, some oddities remain and the resulting confection is as much of a hybrid as previous efforts. In fact Stephanus has introduced inconsistencies of more kinds and on a greater scale than before, yet such was his authority

that the 1589 version was reprinted more often than any other during the next hundred years, as the stemma (below, page 189) shows. Indeed it was Stephanus' version rather than his father's that was revised by the younger Portus for the Genevan edition in sedecimo of 1609.⁵⁰

Aemilius Portus had his father's version of 1580, and his general tendency is to follow his father's use of the scholia. On the title page are the words *paternos commentarios secutus*, so that Aemilius had access to material probably used by his father in his public lectures on the text. His revisions are made to a more consistent pattern than those of Stephanus. He reverses the trend of Stephanus away from the Greek, changing *exitum habuit* (5) back to *perficiebatur*. He was not interested in elegance, nor was he primarily concerned with *proprietas Latina*. His main concern was the traditional one, to give a straightforward explication of Homer's words. The wordy gloss on προΐαψεν (3), *orco ante-iustum-tempus-cum-detrimento demisit*, shows his approach at its most pedantic. Nevertheless, some of his choices (or failures to make a change) show the weakness of his predecessors. He preferred *dissenserunt* (6) to *disiuncti sunt* in 1580 and he retained the weak gloss of Stephanus in *Peloponneso* (30). Once again the revision is rather hit and miss. He followed the practice of Stephanus in putting brackets around words that he adds to make the sense clearer. When the Greeks acclaim Chryses saying that he should be respected, αἰδεῖσθαί θ' ἱερῆα (23) is rendered not by a gerund as in other versions but by *revereri* [*oportere*]; thus the version is a key, but good Latin sense is preserved. Yet as the rendering *commisit pugnare* (8) shows, he was not fully consistent in this practice. Nevertheless, while the version of Stephanus shows what might have been possible with application and some feeling for style, the version of Aemilius Portus is second only to Spondanus in offering an old-fashioned unpretentious key to the Greek.

Neither of these versions, however, was used as the base for the next revision in what was another landmark edition of Homer emanating in 1656 from the press of the distinguished Dutch printer Johan Hack: *Homeri Ilias et Odyssea, et in easdem scholia, sive interpretatio Didymi. Cum Latina versione accuratissima . . . Accurante Corn. Schrevelio*.⁵¹ This is the first edition of Homer in which the scholia are printed with the text in a form that allows them to be easily read. In conception and appearance, this edition set a new standard. The Greek text is produced in a fine typeface with the scholia below and the Latin version set to the right on the same page in reduced type. With due decorum, the Greek is given a new prominence,

⁵⁰ *Heroica. Homeri Ilias, cum Aemilii Porti, Francisci Porti Cretensis F. Latina ad verbum interpretatione; quam is, paternos commentarios accurate sequutus, ab innumeris mendis repurgavit* etc. (per Iohan Vignon: Aureliae Allobrogum 1609).

⁵¹ Ὅμηρου Ἰλιάς καὶ Ὀδύσσεια, καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν σχόλια, ἣ ἐξήγησις Διδύμου, *Homeri Ilias et Odyssea, et in easdem scholia, sive interpretatione Didymi. Cum Latina versione accuratissima* etc. (apud Franciscum Hackium 1656). There is a duplicate of this published at Amsterdam in the same year with the imprint "ex officina Elzeviriana."

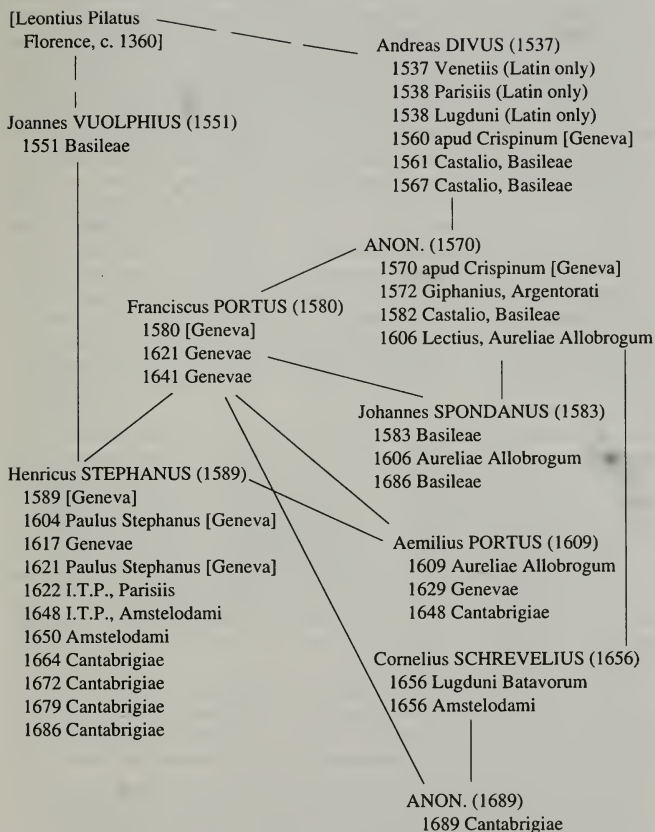
while the reader is presented with the two most useful aids to interpretation immediately adjacent and in a form that is aesthetically pleasing to the eye.

Schrevelius in his preface professes confidence that the learned world will prefer this edition before all others *nitore et diligentia castigationis*, for its handsomeness and for the diligence with which it has been prepared. He says that the Greek text is from the best editions of Turnebus and Stephanus while the Latin version is mainly that of Giphanius, though in many places changed and corrected with reference to the versions of Stephanus and others. Since Giphanius reprints without revising the version of 1570 published by Crispinus, this is a disappointing choice and one that would not have been made by a scholar who had seriously investigated alternatives. Despite Schrevelius' claim about revisions, in the first book of the *Iliad* he has made very few changes, none of which comes from the version of Stephanus. His favourite alternative to 1570 is the unrevised version of Divus (printed variously in Geneva and Basle). He has also taken one or two renderings from the generally better version of Portus in 1580. It is difficult to discern any real principle at work in his tinkering but he certainly has no concern for Latin elegance or even propriety, rendering the line ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν Ἀχαιοί (376) as *tunc alii quidem omnes in id faverent ore Achivi*. This is one of the few places in Book 1, about twenty in all, where he has produced a new rendering of his own. Strangely the same line at 22 is unrevised from 1570: *tunc alii quidem omnes faverunt linguis Achivi*. Having chosen an inferior version to start from, he then introduces new horrors himself. Some of these may be typographical. When the story is told how Zeus threw Hephaestus from Olympus, *dejecit pede prehensum e caelo (vero lumine) divino* (591), *lumine* glossing βῆλοῦ, "threshold," is probably a misprint for *limine*. But when he attempts to explain the difficult word πεμπώβολα (the five-pronged forks on which the flesh or the innards of the beast were roasted after the sacrifice) the failing is more radical: *iuvenesque secus ipsum tendebant verva quinque-ordinum* (463) rendering νέοι δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπώβολα χερσίν is nonsensical.

This edition was immediately subjected to detailed criticism by Meric Casaubon, son of Isaac and a notable scholar in his own right, in a lengthy *Dissertatio* entitled *De nupera Homeri editione Lugduno-Batavica, Hackiana, cum Latina versione* etc. (1659).⁵² Casaubon seems to have been working on the *Odyssey* when the Dutch edition was published. Most of his specific discussion draws upon examples from the *Odyssey* and in his review of previous editions he has probably consulted editions of the *Odyssey* in the first instance. But he has examined the Dutch edition *in toto* and his general remarks and conclusions can apply equally to both poems.⁵³ Having noticed errors (his word is *portenta*) in a rapid review of the *versio*,

⁵² See above, note 2.

⁵³ What follows summarises pages 9–10 of Casaubon's *Dissertatio*.



The *Versio Latina* of Homer's *Iliad*

A stemma showing the relationship and incidence of the *Versio Latina* in printed editions of the *Iliad* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, derived from a collation of Book 1.

he estimates that there are at least six hundred in all. He is talking here about glaring mistakes of interpretation rather than inelegancies of style. He then tells us that he undertook a review of previous editions. He was amazed to find that the errors of Schrevelius do not appear in an earlier version, which, he says, had been quite widely disseminated and previously known to him (it had been printed in Cambridge in 1648), that of Aemilius and Franciscus Portus. (Aemilius Portus had included his father's name on the title page.) The implication here is that with a little effort Schrevelius could have found a better version from which to start. He then consulted the edition of Castalio of 1567, which he found to be not as pure as Portus but better by far than Schrevelius. (For the *Odyssey*, Castalio had revised the 1551 edition; for the *Iliad*, he had reprinted Divus unrevised.) The worst versions of all he had seen were those of Giphanius (reprints of 1570, used by Schrevelius as his base). Commenting on the Amsterdam editions (of 1648 and 1650, both containing reprints of Stephanus) he notes that most of the ghastly errors of Schrevelius do not appear in these versions but that they contain many inexcusable mistakes that are correct in Schrevelius: *Amstelodamensis autem, quamvis multa correcta exhibeat, quae peccat enormiter Hackiana: at illa vicissim plura, aut certe non pauciora admittit, quae piatonis non minus egeant, quae in Hackiana recte habeant.*⁵⁴ He notes, therefore, that error in the *versio* was quite random and that there had not been a progressive elimination and improvement. After making his review, he asks how this edition of 1656, which prides itself on its elegance, could ever have been published *tot versionis ulceribus foeda ac deformis*. To cap it all, he finds that the scholia, reprinted from the Basle edition of 1539 and the chief source of the publisher's pride, are full of typographical errors. Like the first Graeco-Latin edition published in Basle in 1551, this edition which appeared to mark an advance in Homeric scholarship actually reveals the opposite, a regressive ignorance of Homer in the culture of the times.

His review of previous editions of Homer led Casaubon to the conclusion that the edition of Schrevelius was not only a particularly bad case in itself but was also symptomatic of a deeper malaise in Homeric studies more generally in the Renaissance and the seventeenth century (8):

Cum enim aliorum in quocunque genere scriptorum Graecorum versiones extent haud paucae, quas merito laudamus: etiam illorum, in quibus labor longe major et difficultas ingenia non vulgaria detertere poterat: quis non miretur fati Homericum iniquitatem, cui cum palmam dent omnes ingenii, et omni laude, longissimo intervallo praecellentem agnoscant: nondum tamen repertum esse, qui tot insulsissimi interpretis hallucinationibus et barbarismis horrentem et squallidum, et quidvis potius appellandum quam Homerum; meliore cultu ornatum et politum, Latinis auribus proponeret?

⁵⁴ Casaubon (above, note 2) 10. For the Amsterdam editions, see the stemma (previous page).

Since there are many versions of other Greek writers of various kinds which we rightly praise, and even ones in which the much greater labour and difficulty could put off scholars of rare intellect, who will not marvel at the unfairness of Homer's fate, for when all people of intellect give him the palm and recognise that he is pre-eminent above others by the greatest degree and when he is obscured and made ghastly in appearance by so many botchings and barbarisms in a tasteless interpretation and ought to be called anything but Homer, there is no one to be found who can bring him to our Latin ears adorned and refined with greater polish?

He was concerned for the effect that the *versio* might have on those *tyrones* it was designed to help (10):

Nec adeo tamen Homeri ipsius injuria commovebar, quem nemo, qui sapit, ex versionibus vel accuratissimis, nedum vulgaribus, aestimabit: sed tyronum praecipue intuitu, quorum teneros animos, cum amore et admiratione Poetae incomparabilis imbui, reipublicae literariae et posteritatis adeo intersit: mirum ni tot impactae cruces, et tenebrae offusae, ubi Graeca plerunque liquidissima sunt et elegantissima, vel de proprio cogant ingenio desperare; vel alieno (Homerum intelligimus) immerito obtreclare.

Nor am I so much moved by the injury to Homer, whom no one who has sense will judge from versions even the most accurate, let alone the ones in common circulation, as by consideration for beginners, for it is important to literary culture and posterity that their young minds be inspired with a love and admiration for this incomparable poet, yet it would be a miracle if so many knotty *cruces* and such general obscurity, where the Greek is most clear and elegant, should not compel them either to despair of their own intelligence or unjustly to find fault with Homer's.

Appalled by the errors and obfuscations of the Latin version, Casaubon had a clear idea of what was necessary for an improvement and provides examples of his own in the hope of stimulating some other scholar to undertake the task. Although he is unequivocal in his praise for Aemilius Portus, he still felt that there was room for further improvement in the understanding of Homer and his recommendation of the best version comes with a warning to any reader who is about to use it: In any places he happens to be in difficulty or doubtful, he should first consult the scholia or the commentary of Eustathius before pronouncing upon it.⁵⁵ Among the examples that follow is discussion of a phrase from *Odyssey* 3. 340 which also occurs at *Iliad* 1. 471: ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπιάσιν. Casaubon notes that Hesychius gives the meaning σπείσαντες, *libantes*, and Didymus has the long gloss, ἐπαρξάμενοι τοῦ πίνειν ἀρχὴν ποιήσαντες, καὶ ἀπαρξάμενοι καὶ σπείσαντες, while Portus has *iterum exorsi* (and others have *incipientes* in their versions). He prefers the translation *libantes poculis* or at least

⁵⁵ Casaubon (above, note 2) 52.

auspicati a poculis, where *auspicor*, "begin," carries the connotation of good omen, therefore fitting the religious context, for the Greeks are propitiating Apollo. Modern commentators still differ in their exact interpretation of the Homeric phrase, but Casaubon's version does have the merit of making good sense, whereas *incipientes*, the rendering of Divus, repeated in 1570 and therefore in Schrevelius, begs the question about what happens after this beginning (470–72):

Juvenes quidem crateras coronaverunt vino
Distribueruntque omnibus incipientes poculis
Hi autem totam diem cantu deum placebant

Portus in 1580 wrote *iterum exorsi*, where the latter word renders the tense of the participle but the former introduces a further confusion.

Casaubon's *Dissertatio* proves not only that a much better *versio* was a desired contemporary need but that it was well within the capacity of the scholars of the time. His challenge was not seriously taken up, but the *versio* was revised once more in the seventeenth century for the Cambridge edition of 1689⁵⁶ by a scholar who had read his *Dissertatio*, to which he refers in his preface. The reading of Casaubon made him the first to render ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπᾶεσσιν (471) with the interpretation of the scholia in mind: *Distribuerunt omnibus qui poculis libabunt auspicantes*. However, in Homer it is the young men who do the libating (perhaps only by gesturing with the cup as they hand each one round). The three *portenta* of Schrevelius discussed above are corrected. The rendering of πεμπώβολα is not elegant but shows a desire to write self-explanatory sense: *juvenesque secus illum tenebant veruta in quinque mucrones fissa manibus* (463). The base from which the editor is working, despite Casaubon's advice, seems to have been Portus père rather than Portus fils. He has consulted others, including Spondanus, which had been reprinted in Basle three years earlier, and the second edition of Crispinus in 1570. He may have preferred the elder Portus because of his tendency (reversed by his son) towards something stylish, for the 1689 version, more than any other since Stephanus, departs from the exact form of the Greek in the interests of an elegant Latinity. The ablative absolute *orta contentione* rendering ἐρίσαντε (6) and the changes in tense from ἦλθε (12) and λίσσεται (15) to *venerat* and *oravit* introduce the Roman logic of time. The additional *supplex*, only in 1689, in *supplex oravit* sounds like good Latin. There are attempts at Roman idiom and emphasis in *sexcentos* for ἀπερείσια (13) and *noxium* for κακὴν (9). Since he has a better base than Stephanus and has been more systematic (Stephanus inexplicably left *commisit pugnare* from earlier renderings) the Cambridge editor in 1689 has produced a version that is

⁵⁶ *Homeri Ilias, et veterum in eam Scholia quae vulgo appellantur Didymi . . . Continentur insuper in hoc volumine . . . Iliadis nova interpretatio Latina* etc. (J. Hayes: Cantabrigiae [printed]; E. Brewster: Londini 1689).

much less of an unsatisfactory hybrid than had been the case in 1589. Yet he was not so systematic that he eliminated all infelicities either in the Latin expression, where we still find *et navibus dux fuit Achivorum Ilium ad* (71), or in the interpretation of the Greek, as in *ex caeli verticibus* (44), both examples being repeated from 1570. All subsequent revisions of the version in the eighteenth century descend in direct line from this edition, which marks a natural break, as, on the basis of Book 1, it is possible to say that the *portenta*, whether typographical or other, have now been largely eliminated. Subsequent editors tinker with the Latin but more or less give up any attempt to make the *versio* more elegant, despite the reasonable working base provided in 1689.⁵⁷

The long preface to this edition, whose author is keen to assert his scholarly credentials, contains an interesting section on the *versio* in five marked stages that has much to suggest about attitudes to the task not only in 1689 but throughout its history. First, there is an acknowledgement of initial reluctance. Since the commissioning editor wished to keep the form of the earlier Dutch edition, the version was a necessary part of the task at hand but the least congenial, for there is little kudos for a good interpreter but much condemnation for one who proves inadequate. And it is particularly difficult in the case of Homer, coming after so many others have tried their hand in a text of such antiquity that is obscure both in content and style and where there is such disagreement about its interpretation among both ancient and modern scholars: *in tam obscura et rerum et verborum antiquitate, atque illa multiplici et paene infinita grammaticorum veterum et recentium inter se dissensione*. But when we were persuaded (the royal "we," presumably) that much could be gained simply by correcting a few places here and there, *paucos hic illic locos corrigendo*, we undertook this task as well. Previous revisers had been reluctant for the same reasons and had adopted the piecemeal approach as recommended to the Cambridge editor by his commissioning editor or the equivalent of an editorial board. But at the second stage it was found that the piecemeal approach could not be adequate because the Dutch edition was so bad, both in the editor's experience and as demonstrated in Casaubon's *Dissertatio*. Something more considerable was needed. The third stage concerns the assembling of aids: the scholia, the commentary of Eustathius, the lexicon of Hesychius,

⁵⁷ The main eighteenth-century editions are: 'Ομήρου Ἰλιάς καὶ Ὀδύσσεια, *Homeri Ilias et Odyssea . . . cum Latina versione . . . opera, studio et impensis Josuae Barnes etc.*, 2 vols. (apud Cornelium Crownfield: Cantabrigiae 1711); *Homeri Ilias Graece et Latine . . . editit Samuel Clarke*, 2 vols. (J. J. Knapton: Londini 1727); 'Ομήρου Ἀπαντα, *Homeri opera omnia, ex recensione et cum notis S. Clarkii . . . cura J. A. Ernesti etc.*, 5 vols. (impensis G. Theophili Georgii: Lipsiae 1759–64). Barnes tinkers with the Latin without making it significantly more elegant. Like other editors, Clarke claims that he has been a great corrector, but on the evidence of Book 1 of the *Iliad* has done little. In his preface he says that he has attempted to make the Latin correspond as closely as possible to the Greek on the *ad verbum* principle. Ernesti essentially leaves Clarke alone, admitting that the *versio* is *per multis locis parum Latinum aut elegantem*.

the thesaurus of Stephanus, the Latin interpretation of Portus (all recommended by Casaubon) and finally, with an inexplicable bathos that threatens to undermine the seriousness of the whole enterprise, *Hobbesii nostratis Anglicana*, the English version of our very own Hobbes. Hobbes, "studying poetry as he did mathematics, when it was too late," in Dryden's witty dismissal,⁵⁸ produced his Homeric versions in 1676 at the age of 88. They were reprinted twice and must be evidence of an English interest in and desire for Homer, but what profit a serious scholar could have imagined he might derive from them, it is difficult to say. Hobbes and Eustathius scarcely seem to weigh equally as sources of potential enlightenment. But the editor assures us that he does not have a religious attitude to his authorities; where the situation demands, he will make his own judgement. At the fourth stage comes a thoughtful discussion about the character of the *versio*, about its function and about the guiding principles of the interpreter:

It is immediately admitted that there are certain ornaments in versions that have no place here. We have not tried to give Latin speech in which you cannot recognise any traces of the Greek. Usefulness rather than elegance has been the goal. But how can any version of Greek poets be useful except to those who can assess their meaning without the help of it? He who does not know Greek, seeks Homer in vain even in the most elegant version: who knows Greek well, does not need one. Accordingly, we have followed the order and structure of the poet's words as far as the Latin language will allow and our concern has been first to express the primary sense of any utterance rather than to follow it exactly, since we believe that those who have a little learning can most be helped by such a method. But we have not spurned any elegance that is not incompatible with these guidelines. Those verbal monstrosities that are a result of imitating Greek formations we have banished and we have cleaned away much of the general barbarity in an attempt to prevent *tyrones* from being alienated once and for all from Homer in such a ghastly form.

There is an unmistakable allusion to Casaubon here. Writing on the *versio* in response to the *Dissertatio*, the Cambridge editor attempts to square the circle and verges on self-contradiction as he endeavours to reconcile incompatible claims. Nevertheless, the general aim is fairly clear and the intention is decent enough. At the fifth and final stage comes a confession of inadequacy. If the three or four opening books seem to be less felicitously done than what follows, the reader must impute the failing to the haste with which he has had to comply with the demands of the press. In the whole enterprise, the end is more correct than the beginning. In sum, initial reluctance, recognition of a task that has so far been inadequately done, the assembling of aids that will lead to improvement, some agonising over the principles to be followed in such an undertaking and finally in the

⁵⁸ In the preface to the *Fables* (1700), in K. James (ed.), *The Poems of John Dryden* (Oxford 1958) IV 1448.

face of publishers' deadlines confession that more work needed to be done, all this we have encountered before but never so clearly set out or occurring in the one place.

This 1689 version was chosen by Jean Boivin, professor of Greek at Paris, as he contemplated his *Projet pour une nouvelle édition d'Homère*. The edition never came to be, but the proposals survive in manuscript form and have been summarised by Noémi Hepp.⁵⁹ Boivin had evidently examined the version in its previous manifestations from Leontius onwards and found the 1689 version to be the best. He proposed to revise it using other versions and according to principles of his own which show a new clarity of thinking about aims and objectives. From the foregoing account, it is evident that the history of the *versio* is marked by two often contradictory impulses. On the one hand is the tendency most marked in the revisions of Spondanus and Aemilius Portus to concentrate on making good use of the scholia to give an accurate verbal interpretation. On the other hand is the tendency (whether alongside the use of the scholia or not) as in the revisions of 1570, of Franciscus Portus and of Stephanus to make changes in the direction of sound and even elegant Latin. Boivin is the first writer on the version convincingly to put the claims of elegance before those of verbal correspondence (to put *decor* before *utilitas*, to use the terms of the 1689 preface). Not only does he say, as others had said before, that it is an error to make the construction of the Latin follow the Greek, but he also says that is is preferable often to use circumlocution rather than to render a word with another word that does not give the exact sense. (A good example might be the rendering *incipientes* for ἐπαρξάμενοι discussed above.) Nor does he recommend servile adherence to the scholia in difficult passages. He would not have been in favour of the wordy glosses sometimes incorporated in the revisions of 1570 and of Aemilius Portus. He specifically advises that between two Latin expressions rendering the sense of the Greek the most noble and poetic should be chosen. In this light he does not think it an indispensable rule to render all the Greek particles in Latin. If every τε, ἄρα and γέ is rendered, then the result in Latin is, of course, something ponderous and barbarous. These principles are put into action in specific comments on the opening eight lines of the version of 1689. He recommends translating μῆνιν . . . οὐλομένην as *iram gravem et exitiosam* because μῆνιν does not signify an ordinary anger. Here οὐλομένην is not rendered by one word (*perniciosa* in 1689) but by a circumlocution which is not only explanatory but gives emphasis to what is a crucial thematic point. In the second verse, μῦρ' . . . ἄλγεα ought to be translated as *dolores mille* rather than *sexcentos dolores* (1689), a phrase he finds low and prosaic. In verse eight, he proposes to change *Quisnam eos Deorum contentione commisit ut pugnarent?* to *Ecquis*

⁵⁹ N. Hepp, *Homère en France au XVII^e siècle* (Paris 1968) 568–71.

deorum eos commisit ut per contentionem pugnarent? Presumably this change is in the interests of more idiomatic Latin. Finally, he notes that there are three occurrences of *autem* in verses 3, 4 and 5, which should be reduced at least to one. However, no subsequent editor took the trouble to revise the *versio* according to these principles.

The consequences of the failure to produce a better and less repellant *versio* can easily be imagined. Indeed the fears of Casaubon for its effect on *tyrones* are unlikely to be exaggerated. The reaction against Homer in *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* in the late seventeenth century in France may in part be an honest response to Homer known principally through the medium of the *versio Latina*. Boileau in his *Réflexions sur Longin* of 1694 exposes the tactic of Charles Perrault, who knew little Greek, in translating bad Latin into low French in his *Parallèles des Anciens et des Modernes*, in which Homer is castigated amongst other things for his ignorance and lack of *la politesse*.⁶⁰ In the preface to his earlier *Traité du Sublime* of 1674, Boileau had made the acute observation that bad translations into Latin differ in the perniciousness of their effect from vernacular translations (where the reader may have a better understanding that he is not receiving the original meaning):

Il est aisé à un Traducteur Latin de se tuer d'affaire aux endroits même qu'il n'entend pas. Il n'a qu'à traduire le Grec mot pour mot, et à débiter des paroles qu'on peut au moins soupçonner d'être intelligibles. En effet, le Lecteur, qui bien souvent n'y conçoit rien, s'en prend plutôt à soi-même qu'à l'ignorance du Traducteur. Il n'en est pas ainsi des traductions en langue vulgaire. Tout ce que le Lecteur n'entend point s'appelle un galimatias, dont le Traducteur tout seul est responsable.⁶¹

It is easy for a Latin translator to kill meaning in those particular parts that he does not understand. He has only to translate the Greek word for word and to make those words that he can at least guess comprehensible. In effect the reader, who very often knows nothing, takes on himself the ignorance of the translator. The case is different with translations into the vernacular. All that the reader does not understand at all can be called a hotchpotch for which the translator is wholly responsible.

Paradoxically, the *ad verbum* method could be said to have encouraged and perpetuated nonsense in that a careless or ignorant interpreter (Leontius being the obvious if extreme example) might only feel obliged to give approximate equivalents to each word without also feeling the need to string the words together to make overall sense. We may recall here the verdict of Petrarch's biographer Pierre de Nolhac on Leontius: "On comprend que si

⁶⁰ Boileau. *Oeuvres complètes*, introduction par A. Adam, textes établis et annotés par F. Escal (Bruges 1966) "Réflexions critiques sur quelques passages du rheteur Longin," *Réflexion* III, pp. 504-05.

⁶¹ Boileau. *Oeuvres complètes* (previous note) 336-37.

Pilate a adopté le système de traduction 'verbum ad verbum,' c'est qu'il était trop ignorant pour en pouvoir un autre."⁶²

The *versio Latina*, therefore was both the product and cause of inattention and ignorance. The difficulties involved were real, but not so great after all the ancillary material had been printed as they had been in the early Renaissance. It is tempting to conclude that the poor state of the *versio* must be a general reflection of the parlous state of Greek studies more generally, yet Casaubon specifically states that Homer's fate is particularly bad—other Greek authors had fared better. Perhaps these are the philosophers or historians, for they cannot have been what are now considered to be the classics of Greek literature in drama and lyric, in which there was even less interest than in Homer to judge from the number and quality of the editions. However the poor state of the *versio* is certainly a reflection of the poor state of Homeric studies and while the failure to produce a better one was often a failure of knowledge and scholarship it was also a failure of conviction and *will*. If Homer had seriously been felt to be the Prince of Poets as he is often called on the title pages of editions, then his text and its interpretation would have called forth the kind of sustained scholarly enterprise and attention accorded to the New Testament or to Virgil.

Appendix: Ilias Graecolatina 1–16

- 1537: Andreas Divus
- 1551: Vuolphius
- 1570: Anon. apud Crispinum
- 1580: Franciscus Portus
- 1583: Spondanus
- 1589: Stephanus
- 1609: Aemilius Portus
- 1656: Schrevelius
- 1689: Anon., Cantabrigiae

Line 1: Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος

- | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|
| 1537 | Iram cane Dea Pelidae Achillis |
| 1551 | Iram dic Dea Pelidae Achillis |
| 1570 | Iram cane dea (musa) Pelidae Achillis |
| 1580 | Iram cane dea Pelidae Achillis |
| 1583 | Iram cane dea Pelidae Achillis |
| 1589 | Iram cane Dea Pelidae Achillis |
| 1609 | Iram cane dea Pelidae Achillis |

⁶² P. de Nolhac, "Les scholies inédites de Petrarque sur Homère," *Revue de Philologie* 11 (1887) 105.

- 1656 Iram cane Dea (musa) Pelidae Achillis
 1689 Iram cane Dea Pelidae Achillis

Line 2: οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν,

- 1537 Perniciosam: quae infinitos Achivis dolores inflixit
 1551 Perdentem, quae infinitos Graecis dolores fecit
 1570 Perniciosam, quae infinitos Achivis dolores imposuit,
 1580 Pestiferam, quae plurimos Achivis dolores imposuit
 1583 Perniciosam, quae infinitos Achivis dolores fecit
 1589 Perniciosam, quae infinitos Grecis dolores attulit,
 1609 Perniciosam, quae infinitos Graecis dolores attulit,
 1656 Perniciosam, quae infinitos Achivis dolores inflixit:
 1689 Perniciosam, quae sexcentos Achivis dolores fecit:

Line 3: πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἀϊδὶ προΐαψεν

- 1537 Multas autem fortes animas inferis misit
 1551 Multas et generosas animas orco demisit
 1570 Multas autem fortes animas Plutoni praemisit
 1580 Multas autem fortissimas animas Orco demisit
 1583 Multas autem fortes animas Orco ante tempus demisit,
 1589 Multasque fortissimas animas orco demisit,
 1609 Multasque fortissimas animas orco ante-iustum-tempus-cum-
 detrimento demisit
 1656 Multas autem fortes animas Plutoni praemisit
 1689 Multas autem fortes animas orco praemature misit

Line 4: ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν

- 1537 Heroum, ipsos autem laniamenta fecit canibus
 1551 Heroum, ipsosque lacerationes fabricavit canibus
 1570 Heroum: ipsos autem laniamenta fecit canibus
 1580 Heroum: ipsos autem praedam dilaniandam fecit canibus
 1589 Heroum, ipsos vero praedam dilaniandam fecit canibus
 1609 Heroum, ipsos praedam dilaniandam fecit canibus
 1656 Heroum: ipsos autem laniamenta fecit canibus
 1689 Heroum, ipsos autem praedam discerpendam fecit canibus

Line 5: οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι (Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή),

- 1537 Avibus omnibus. Iovis autem perficiebatur voluntas
 1551 Carnivorisque avibus omnibus Iovisque perfecta voluntas
 1570 Avibus omnibus: Iovi autem perficiebatur voluntas v.
 consilium
 1580 Alitibusque omnibus: Iovis autem perficiebatur consilium

- 1583 Avibusque omnibus: (Iovis autem perficiebatur consilium)
 1589 Alitibusque omnibus (ac Iovis consilium exitum habuit)
 1609 Alitibusque omnibus (Iovis enim perficiebatur consilium)
 1656 Avibusque omnibus, (Iovis autem perficiebatur voluntas)
 1689 Alitibusque omnibus: (Iovis autem perficiebatur consilium)

Line 6: ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε

- 1537 Ex quo sane primum divisi sunt contententes
 1551 Ex quo primum dissenserunt contententes
 1570 Ex quo sane primum dissenserunt litigantes
 1580 Ex quo primum disiuncti sunt altercantes
 1583 Ex quo sane primum disiuncti sunt litigantes
 1589 Ex quo primum dissenserunt contententes
 1609 Ex quo primum dissenserunt contententes
 1656 Ex quo sane primum dissenserunt litigantes
 1689 Ex quo primum disjuncti sunt orta contentione

Line 7: Ἀτρεΐδης τε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς

- 1537 Atridesque Rex virorum, et divus Achilles.
 1551 Atridesque rex virorum, et divinus Achilles.
 1570 Atridesque rex virorum, et divus Achilles.
 1580 Atridesque rex virorum, et nobilis Achilles.
 1583 Atridesque rex virorum, et divus Achilles.
 1589 Atridesque rex virorum, et dius Achilles.
 1609 Atridesque rex virorum, et dius Achilles.
 1656 Atridesque rex virorum, et divus Achilles.
 1689 Atridesque rex virorum, et nobilis Achilles.

Line 8: τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;

- 1537 Quis nam ipso Deorum contentioni commisit pugnare?
 1551 Quique sane ipsos Deorum contentionem commiserit pugnare.
 1570 Quisnam ipsos Deorum contentione commisit, ut pugnarent?
 1580 Quis nam eos deorum contentione commisit ut pugnarent?
 1583 Quisnam ipsos deorum liti commisit ut pugnarent?
 1589 Quisnam ipsos deorum contentione commisit pugnare?
 1609 Quisnam ipsos deorum contentione commisit pugnare?
 1656 Quisnam ipsos Deorum liti commisit ut pugnarent?
 1689 Quisnam eos Deorum contentione commisit ut pugnarent?

Line 9: Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός. ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆι χολωθείς

- 1537 Latonae, et Iovis filius, hic enim regi iratus
 1551 Latonae et Jovis filius. Ille enim regi iratus

- 1570 Latonae et Iovis filius hic enim regi iratus
 1580 Latonae, et Iovis filius is enim regi iratus
 1583 Latonae et Iovis filius. hic enim regi iratus
 1589 Latonae et Iovis filius, ille enim regi iratus
 1609 Latonae et Iovis filius. ille enim regi iratus
 1656 Latonae et Jovis filius. hic enim regi iratus
 1689 Latonae et Jovis filius. Hic enim regi iratus

Line 10: νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὥρσε κακὴν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί,

- 1537 Morbum per exercitum suscitavit malum: peribant vero populi
 1551 Morbum per exercitum immisit malum, peribant vero populi
 1570 Morbum per exercitum suscitavit malum (peribant autem populi)
 1580 Morbum in exercitum immisit pestilentem: interibant autem populi
 1583 Morbum per exercitum suscitavit malum, peribant autem populi
 1589 Morbum in exercitum excitavit malum: peribant vero populi
 1609 Morbum in exercitum excitavit malum: peribant vero populi
 1656 Morbum per exercitum suscitavit malum, (peribant autem populi)
 1689 Morbum per exercitum excitavit noxium, (peribant autem populi)

Line 11: οὐνεκα τὸν Χρύσην ἡτίμησ' ἀρητῆρα

- 1537 Quoniam Chrysem inhonoravit sacerdotem
 1551 Eo quod Chrysen inhonoravit sacerdotem
 1570 Quoniam Chrysen inhonoravit sacerdotem
 1580 Quoniam Chrysen contumelia affecerat sacerdotem
 1583 Quoniam Chrysen contumelia affecerat sacerdotem
 1589 Eo quod Chrysen dedecoravit sacerdotem
 1609 Quia Chrysen ignominia affecit sacerdotem
 1656 Quoniam Chrysen inhonoravit sacerdotem
 1689 Quoniam Chrysen contumelia affecerat sacerdotem

Line 12: Ἀτρεΐδης, ὃ γὰρ ἦλθε θαῶς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,

- 1537 Atrides. hic enim venit celeres ad naves Achivorum
 1551 Atrides. is enim venit currentes ad naves Graecorum
 1570 Atrides. hic enim venit celeres ad naves Achivorum
 1580 Atrides. is enim venerat celeres ad naves Graecorum
 1583 Atrides. ille enim venit celeres ad naves Achivorum
 1589 Atrides. Is enim venit citas ad naves Graecorum
 1609 Atrides. Is enim venit citas ad naves Graecorum

- 1656 Atrides. hic enim venit celeres ad naves Achivorum
 1689 Atrides. hic enim venerat celeres ad naves Achivorum

Line 13: λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα, φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα,

- 1537 Liberaturusque filiam, ferensque infinita dona;
 1551 Liberaturus filiam, ferensque infinita dona
 1570 Liberaturusque filiam, ferensque infinita precia liberationis
 1580 Redempturus filiam, et ferens immensum pretium
 1583 Liberaturusque filiam, ferensque infinita precia liberationis
 1589 Redempturus filiam, ferensque praeclara munera
 1609 Redempturusque filiam, ferensque praeclara munera
 1656 Liberaturusque filiam, ferensque infinita precia liberationis
 1689 Redempturusque filiam, ferensque infinitum pretium
 liberationis

Line 14: στέμματα ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος

- 1537 Coronas habens in manibus longeiaculantis Apollinis
 1551 Coronas habens in manibus eminus ferientis Apollinis
 1570 Coronamque habens in manibus longe iaculantis Apollinis
 1580 Coronas habens in manibus longe iaculantis Apollinis
 1583 Coronamque habens in manibus longe iaculantis Apollinis
 1589 Coronas habens in manibus eminus ferientis Apollinis
 1609 Coronas habens in manibus eminus-ferientis Apollinis
 1656 Coronamque habens in manibus longe-jaculantis Apollinis
 1689 Coronamque habens in manibus longe-jaculantis Apollinis

Line 15: χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, καὶ ἐλίσσετο πάντας Ἀχαιούς,

- 1537 Aureo cum sceptro: et obsecrabat omnes Achivos.
 1551 Aureo cum sceptro, et precabatur omnes Graecos.
 1570 Aureo cum sceptro: et obsecrabat omnes Achivos.
 1580 Aureo cum sceptro: et orabat omnes Achivos
 1583 Aureo cum sceptro: et obsecrabat omnes Achivos
 1589 Aureo super sceptro: et precabatur omnes Graecos,
 1609 Aureo super sceptro: et precabatur omnes Graecos.
 1656 Aureo cum sceptro: et obsecrabat omnes Achivos,
 1689 Aureo cum sceptro: et supplex oravit omnes Achivos

Line 16: Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δύω, κοσμήτορε λαῶν.

- 1537 Atridas autem maxime duos principes populorum.
 1551 Atridas vero maxime geminos ornamenta populorum.
 1570 Atridas autem maxime duos principes populorum,
 1580 Atridas in primis, duos principes populorum:

- 1583 Atridas autem maxime, duos principes populorum,
1589 Atridas vero maxime, duos imperatores exercitum,
1609 Atridas vero maxime, duos imperatores populorum,
1656 Atridas autem maxime, duos principes populorum.
1689 Atridas autem imprimis, duos duces populorum:

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